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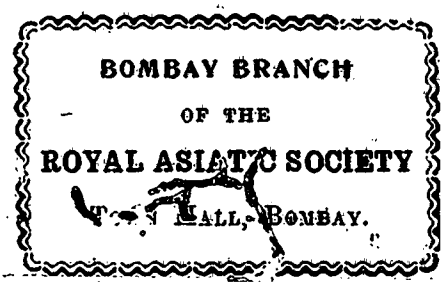

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Gustavus

THE HISTORY

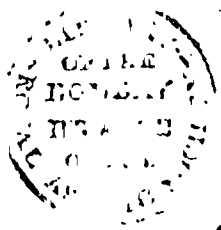
OF

GUSTAVUS VASA,

KING OF SWEDEN.

WITH

EXTRACTS FROM HIS CORRESPONDENCE.



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PREFACE.

THE life of Gustavus Vasa, though it has been separately treated by several Swedish authors, has never yet, I believe, been presented to the English reader as a distinct subject. This certainly has not been because the subject is deficient either in interest or importance, nor is it that there have not existed of late years ample and accessible materials for its development, but chiefly perhaps because the number of English writers acquainted with the Scandinavian languages is still comparatively few, and that the unoccupied fields which those languages have opened to them are many and extensive.

It will not, I hope, be deemed superfluous, if I explain the manner in which the present work had its beginning.

The early interest which I had taken in Gustavus Vasa from Voltaire's introduction to 'Charles the Twelfth,' and which had been confirmed from other sources, was revived and much increased by the following remarks of Mr. Laing on Geijer's history of the Swedes.

"The second and third parts give the history of Gustavus Vasa and his successors down to the death

of Gustavus Adolphus and the reign and resignation of his daughter Christina. The adventures, as they may be called, of the first Vasa, his exploits, his manly sincere character, his public and domestic life, his racy speeches to the peasantry in the quaint energetic mode of expression which appear to have belonged to the state of society and language in every country about the time of Queen Elizabeth, are given in a spirit truly Shakesperian. This work, although unintentionally, gives a severe shock to the reigning dynasty; for it paints, with the touch of genius, acts and exploits, sayings and doings, of great men, and striking characters of a native race of kings in picturesque times, opens up a brilliant national history, which before was but dimly seen through obscure or flimsy foreign works, and brings it home to the breasts of the youth of the country, in a literary production of which the nation may be as proud as of the deeds it relates. I envy this man the feeling with which he must walk past the gigantic bust of Gustavus Vasa upon the esplanade of the old palace here (Upsala), from which its frown seems to have scared away the living generation of men, reflecting that he alone has done justice, in unfavourable times, to the two most disinterested, high, and virtuous characters who have ever appeared in kingly station—Gustavus Vasa, and his grandson Gustavus Adolphus."

Happening to meet with this passage during an interval of comparative leisure, it occurred to me

that I might perhaps employ that leisure to advantage in reading Geijer's work, and more particularly the portion which related to Gustavus Vasa, and (if I found this as interesting as Mr. Laing had represented) that it might be worth while to translate it, and print it separately with the addition of some explanatory notes.

I had not, however, made much progress in the Professor's history of Gustavus without feeling that it would be better to profit by his labours generally, and in common with those of others, than to tread closely and exclusively in his footsteps. I found that there were—as indeed might have been anticipated when a Swede had written for Swedes—some things recorded in the history which an Englishman could have spared, and I suspected that many things had been only slightly touched upon or omitted which he would gladly have seen in full detail. As I consulted original authorities to understand allusions or to clear up doubts, this suspicion was confirmed. Besides, those authorities obliged me to view some material points in Gustavus's history in a different light from that in which Geijer had regarded them. Then, again, I thought his arrangement might be deviated from with good effect. Lastly, I conceived that if there were interwoven with the narrative copious extracts from the correspondence of the King, published in the Handlingar of M. Thyselius and the Diplomatarium Dalekarlicum—with some parts of which Geijer was probably unac-

quainted, to which, at any rate, he had not given the prominence that, in my opinion, they deserved—a likeness of Gustavus might be produced, which, containing more strokes of his own vigorous pencil, would so far possess an advantage over any previous portrait. The result has been the present Life. Wherein, having had to speak of many things in respect of which I have felt myself somewhat fettered by inclination, I have been the more studious on that very account to keep my judgment unrestrained, and to fulfil at least the fundamental duty of an historical biographer, by giving a fair statement of facts, and doing justice, according to my ability, to the persons and parties concerned.[1]

To enable those who are not acquainted with Swedish to read some of the proper names, and other Swedish words, which occur in this volume with less difficulty, I venture to lay down the following rough rules of pronunciation.

Pronounce a as the a in Father.
i ,, i in Mill.
ä ,, ea in Feather.
å ,, o in Rose.
ö (for which we have no corresponding sound in English) as the ie in Field.
g before e, i, y, ä, ö, has usually the sound of y.

---

[1] "Nam quis nescit primam esse historiæ lege[illegible] ne quid falsi dicere audeat? deinde ne quid veri non audeat? ne qua suspicio gratiæ sit in scribendo? ne qua simultatis? Hæc scilicet fundamenta nota sunt omnibus."—Cic. de Oratore, lib. 2, p. 63.

Observe *particularly* also that k before e, i, y, ä, ö, is usually sounded like ch in cherry, but after s as h.

Thus	Skep,	Anglicè (ship),	is pronounced	shep.
	Skilling,	, , (shilling),	, ,	shilling.
	Kärna,	, , (churn),	, ,	chearna.
	Köping,	, , (chipping, *i. e.* a market-town),		something like chiepping.
	Skjöld,	, , (shield),	, ,	shield.
	Gärdsgård	, , (court-yard)	, ,	yeards-gōrd.

Accordingly the following words, which occur frequently in the volume, will be read nearly as follows:—

Scânia,	as if it were written	Scōnia.
Vesterâs,	, , , ,	Vesterose.
Gârden,	, , , ,	Gōrden.
Iönköping,	, , , ,	Yiènchiepping.
Linköping,	, , , ,	Linchiepping.

Words such as Sturé, with an accent over the é, are to be pronounced as dissyllables.

Among the authorities consulted by me are:—

(1.) Scriptores Rerum Danicarum Medii Ævi. 8 vols. Hafniæ, 1772, &c.

1 vol. Petri Olai Chron.

2 vols. Chronicon Skibyense, from 1446 to 1534.

The name is borrowed from Skibby, a parish in Zealand, where the MS. was found in 1650 built up in the church-wall behind the altar.

3 vols. Epistolæ Christiani I. Dan. Regis.

(2.) Scriptores Rerum Sueciarum. Upsaliæ, 1818, &c.

1 vol. Svenska Chronica Olai Petri.

The author of this Swedish chronicle and his brother were the first preachers of the Reformed religion in Sweden.

2 vol. Chron. Erici Olai, in Latin.

The author was Dean of Upsala, and died A.D. 1496. His work, which is highly esteemed, is brought down to the year 1464.

Ditto Svenska Chrönica, Laurentii Petri.

The author, the first Protestant Archbishop of Upsala, undertook this work, which was little more than a reproduction of his brother's, at the request of Gustavus, omitting some passages, with which the King was offended, and supplying some defects. Both Chronicles end in 1521. Gustavus's criticism on the Chronicles of Ericus Olai and Olaus Petri will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

(3.) Germanicarum Rerum Scriptores aliquot insignes hactenus incogniti ex bibliothecâ Marquardi Freheri. Frankfort.

Tom. 3, Christierni Secundi Attentata in Sueciæ Regnum, &c. A.D. 1517. Jacobo Zieglero. Scriptore.

An author living at the time of the massacre in Stockholm. The date 1517 should be 1520.

(4.) Historia Johannis Magni, Archiepiscopi Upsaliensis. Romæ, 1564.

De Omnibus Gothorum Sueonumque Regibus. Romæ, 1564.

The author was the last Roman Catholic Archbishop of Sweden.

(5.) Handlingar Rörande Sveriges inre Förhållanden under Gustaf. I., ed. P. E. Thyselius. 4 del. Stockholm, 1841-45.

These documents, concerning the internal condition of Sweden under Gustavus Vasa, occupy 2 vols. 8vo., chiefly consisting of the King's own letters, copied from the State Register, Riks. Reg.

(6.) Diplomatarium Dalekarlicum, ed. C. G. Kröningssvärd och J. Liden. 3 del. 4to. Stockholm, 1842-4-6.

Papers and letters, many of them of Gustavus, bearing more or less on the interests of Dalecarlia. The documents are numbered in this collection, and are quoted by me in the notes and elsewhere by their numbers.

(7.) Danmarchis Regis Kröniche. Arrild Hvitfeldt, D.R.C. Copenhagen, 1603, &c. 10 vols. 4to.

He was Chancellor of Denmark in the time of Christian the Fourth. In the copy in the British Museum there is written on the fly-leaf, "This is the first and best history of the kingdom of Denmark, having all the original articles which in the later edition have been altered for political reasons" (Jocher Lexicon, nat. 1550, ob. 1607).[1]

(8.) Tegel. Jörenson (Erik) Then Stoormectighe Herre Herr Gustaf's Historia. Stockholm. 2 del., 1622, fol.

This history was written at the request and under the supervision of Charles the Ninth, the son of Gustavus; so that the author boasts it may be considered as his Majesty's own work. It is little more than a chronicle of the events of the reign, but valuable both from the number of State documents which it preserves and the circumstances under which it was written.

(9.) Johannis Messenii Scondia Illustrata a Joh. Peringskjöld.

The first book was dedicated to Gustavus Adolphus, 1620. Messenius was secretly an earnest Roman Catholic; and in reading his history it must not be forgotten that he delights in inferences and insinuations to the disadvantage of Gustavus. On the other hand, many things affecting the King are mentioned by him, of which there is no reason to question the truth, but which Protestant Swedish writers fail to notice.

(10.) Dalin. Svea Rikes Historia. Stockholm, 1747–50. 4 vols. 4to.

(11.) Konung Gustaf Den Förstes Historia, af Olof Celsius, Professor of History at Upsala. Stockholm, 1775.

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[1] Holberg, who gives the date of his death 1609, says of Hvitfeldt's history, "that it is one of the most precious possessed by any country, as it is a collection of state documents which the author, as Chancellor of the kingdom, had the opportunity of copying out and introducing into his history."—Vol. ii. p. 402.

(12.) Sveriges Historia. M. Bruzelius. 3rd ed. Lund, 1830.

A popular abridgment.

(13.) Svenska Folkets Historia ap Erik Gustaf Geijer. 3 tom. Örebro, 1832, 1834, 1836.

This work has been translated into English by Mr. J. H. Turner.

(14.) Dannemarks Riges Historie. Ved Ludvig Holberg. 2nd ed. Copenhagen, 1753-54. 3 vols. 4to.

(15.) Mallet, Histoire de Dannemarc. Geneva, 1762.

The author, who had lived in Denmark from an early age, appears to have been careful in searching out and using the best authorities.

(16.) Behrman (Hendrick), Christian den Andens Fœngsels og Befrielses Historia. Kiop., 1812. 8vo.

An account of the imprisonment and release of Christian the Second, with documentary proofs.

Other works less frequently consulted or better known will be found mentioned in the notes.

THE AUTHOR.

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ERRATA.

Preface, page vii., *for* "Sueciarum," *read* "Suecicarum."

Page 114, note, *for* "Suecarum," *read* "Suecicarum."

,, 143, line 1, *for* "except," *read* "where."

,, 156, *for* "(frälsejord) lands upon which no quit-rent had been reserved; lands paying quit-rent (skattejord)," *read* "(frälsejord), lands *freed* from the more onerous and degrading state-burdens: lands liable to these burdens (skattejord)."

,, 163, line 23, *for* "accelerate," *read* "anticipate."

GUSTAVUS VASA.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY.

Comparison between Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles the Twelfth — Sweden after the Treaty of Calmar, 1398 — Union with Norway and Denmark — Eric the Seventh — Revolts in Dalecarlia — Engelbrect Regent — Assassinated — Regency of Knutson — Death of Eric — Knutson chosen King — His war with Christian the First — Defeat and abdication — Recall and death — Sten Sturé Regent — Christian proclaimed King — Battle of Brunkeberg — Treaty of Calmar renewed — John declared King — Provisions of the treaty — John defeats the Regent — Revolt of the nobles — Sturé re-elected — His death and policy — Christian the Second — Difficult position of Swedish rulers — Mission of Gustavus Vasa.

THE realm of Sweden, during the two centuries commencing about the year 1520, acquired an imperishable glory from the great princes who, at various intervals, occupied the throne. Few royal names are more illustrious, or have conferred more honour upon their country, than those of Gustavus Vasa, Gustavus Adolphus, and Charles the Twelfth. Not only were their reigns distinguished by deeds of great brilliancy and importance, but those deeds were their own, suggested or modified by themselves, achieved after the characteristic fashion of each, by political

wisdom, military genius, and daring courage. Hence, comparing them together, Charles the Twelfth was the greatest hero, and Gustavus Adolphus the greatest general; but Gustavus Vasa was the greatest king. The others were too much captivated or too busy with war and conquest, to give sufficient heed to that domestic policy which, properly conceived and administered, gives a sovereign, not the most brilliant indeed, but the best title to a nation's gratitude and admiration. Gustavus, on the contrary, without neglecting the defence of his kingdom—after he had freed it from foreign rulers—devoted himself chiefly to its internal improvement, to the reformation of its institutions, and to the development of its resources; and the intelligence he showed in choosing fit times and fit instruments for what he meant to do, his moral courage in difficult and critical junctures, and the laborious perseverance by which he finally established peace and an efficient government in the place of anarchy and misrule, justly entitle him to a high rank among the kings, not only of his own, but of all other nations.

The abatements to be made from this general commendation, and the faults, which, while they lessened the usefulness of Gustavus as a monarch, tarnished also his character as a man, will appear in the following history. But in order justly to appreciate his position, and the peculiar obstacles which he had to surmount, it will be necessary to throw a glance over the annals of the kingdom, from the

union of the Crowns of Norway, Denmark, and Sweden by the Treaty of Calmar in 1398, until the time when he, who was destined to dissolve that treaty, appears upon the scene.

The union, which was accomplished mainly by the prudence and management of Margaret, widow of Håkan, King of Norway, finds little favour with the Swedish historians, ancient or modern. Laurentius Petri says, that "Queen Margaret's union was profitable to the Swedes, if it was to their profit to be the Danes' bondmen."[1] Geijer calls it "a hasty, imperfect work, concluded without the assent, or even without the knowledge, of the kingdom generally." Plausible reasons, however, were not wanting to recommend it, in the outset, to all the nations whom it joined together. It promised many of the advantages which have been actually realized by the union of England and Scotland. It promised to put an end to the feuds by which the different parts of Scandinavia had hitherto been distracted, to combine within the limits of one united kingdom territorial advantages of no ordinary kind, and to give to each member of the confederacy, while still retaining its separate customs and domestic arrangements, a strength beyond its own, to resist the encroachments or to retaliate the injuries of more powerful states. It was evident, however, that the success of the experiment would depend much upon the fidelity with

[1] Svensk. Chron. Laur. Pet. 151; Script. Rer. Suec., vol. ii.

which the different stipulations of the treaty were carried out. The footing upon which the three nations were united was that of perfect equality. To depress any one member of the union therefore, to neglect its interests, to exhaust its means for objects distinct from the common good, to place studiously over its most important charges chiefs not chosen from its own citizens, was at once a breach of the spirit, and even of the letter of the treaty, and a step towards its dissolution.

Margaret herself first introduced the elements of discord, during the time that she was in effect Queen, by her fond partiality for her Danish subjects, to whom she committed the chief posts and fortresses of Sweden, by the new and heavy imposts which she levied there, by her prodigality to the clergy, and her avowed policy of humbling the nobles of the land.[1] But it was Eric the Seventh, her grand-nephew, who by the Treaty of Calmar was elected to the triple crown, with a reservation of the rights and privileges of Margaret, that after her decease inflamed the discontent, until it broke out into open rebellion.[2] Occupied wholly with his war against

[1] She was accordingly in very different odour with the two nations. "Hæc Regina tantæ celebritatis exstitit apud Danos ut eam æstiment sanctam, et canonizatione dignam. Apud Suecos vero putatur profundissimo digna inferno."—Erici Olai Chron., lib. 5, p. 121. Among the objectionable taxes which she renewed or originated was one which the people called Rumpo-skatt; it was virtually a poll-tax.—Olai Petri; Svensk Chron., p. 279.

[2] He married in 1406 Philippa, daughter of our Henry the Fourth,

the Counts of Holstein, extracting from Sweden continually fresh supplies of blood and treasure, and that for a quarrel in which Sweden herself was little interested, placing over her people Danes and Germans to pillage and oppress them, and above all turning a deaf ear to their repeated complaints, a civil war was kindled, which, checked from time to time, still broke out afresh, and was to be extinguished only, after a hundred years of discord and bloodshed, by the disruption of the union itself.[1]

The government of Dalecarlia had been committed to a Danish nobleman named Erickson, who exercised there every species of cruelty and oppression. Men were suffocated in their homes, women with child and newly delivered harnessed to ploughs and waggons, property confiscated upon the slightest occasions and pretexts. Complaints of these severities had been forwarded to the King, but Erickson had always contrived to anticipate them by counter-accusations, or in some other way to neutralise their effect.[2] At length there rose up from among the Dalesmen (Dalecarlians) themselves one who undertook their cause, and vowed to avenge them. His name was Engelbrect, a Bergsman, and of the lower

a princess of great virtue, understanding, and courage. She lived unhappily with her husband, who neglected her, and is said to have caused her death by personal ill-treatment. She died in the convent of Vadstena in the year 1430.—Diarium Vadstenense, p. 149; Olai Petri, p. 283.

[1] Olai Petri, p. 282.

[2] Erici Olai, p. 126; Johan. Magni Hist., lib. 22-4.

order of nobles.[1] He was short of stature, but of commanding abilities, active, courageous, persevering, eloquent, and popular in his manners, and he combined with these natural advantages the experience acquired by intercourse with other countries and with courts. He became Erickson's accuser, and painted his atrocities at the Danish court in the liveliest colours. The King, struck with what he heard, ordered an inquiry, and the charges were ultimately made good before the Swedish state-council.

Armed with their report Engelbrect returned to Denmark and demanded the punishment of the offender, but the King had changed his mind or was weary with the subject, and drove him from his presence.[2]

The report of his reception was the signal for revolt. The Dalesmen rose, elected him their leader, marched against Vesterås in the autumn of 1433, and though induced by some of the state-council who were there to return home again, did not disperse without an oath never again to pay taxes to Erickson. An attempt to exact these produced a second insurrection, but the state-council having now persuaded Erickson to give up his command, the Dalesmen were once more quieted. Erickson himself took

[1] "Ingenuus seu libertus, sed staturâ pusilius, in curiis principum nutritus, facundus et fortis."—Ib. "Mediocri nobilitate conspicuus utpote libertino patre natus."—Johannes Magnus, lib. 22-4. The word Bergsman means a mountaineer or a miner—here, probably, a proprietor of mines.

[2] Erici Olai, p. 126.

refuge in the convent of Vadstena, from whence, two years after, he was dragged out by the peasantry and put to death.[1]

The lull which succeeded Erickson's retirement was of short duration. He was replaced by a foreign count, whose lieutenant in the Dales still oppressed the people. Therefore on Midsummer day, 1434, they rose as one man, resolved to drive all foreigners from the kingdom. Their first attack was upon a fortress called Borganess, situated on a little island in the river that flows through their district (Dalelfven). This was levelled to the ground. They then marched against Köping Castle, which met with the same fate. The commandant at Vesterås, after three days, surrendered. Engelbrect took possession, and gave the command to the father of Eric Puké, a young nobleman then in Finland, but who soon after became an important acquisition to the popular cause. Assisted by him Engelbrect carried the war into Nordland and Upland, obtained possession, by fear, or force, or favour, of many additional fortresses, and finally laid siege to Stockholm itself. Here he concluded a truce with the commandant, and at Örebro united his forces to those of Puké.[2]

[1] Ib. anno 1436. "Concep. B. Virginis captus est Jo. Erickson per rusticos in domibus procuratoris sororum, qui quamvis essent moniti, ne violarent immunitates et privilegia monasterii, minime curaverunt, sed duxerunt tanquam ovem ad Motala et ibi cum crudeliter decapitaverunt."—Diar. Vadst., p. 153. It is added, in 1437, "Fecerunt emendam prædicti rustici."

[2] Erici Olai, p. 129.

Örebro and Nyköping had just capitulated, when he heard that the States were assembled at Vadstena. Taking a lifeguard of one thousand men with him, he went thither, entered unbidden into the Hall of Assembly, and compelled the council to renounce their allegiance to Eric. He despatched the act of renunciation, dated the 16th August, 1434, to Denmark, and pursued his triumphant career.[1]

Within about three months of the meeting at Vadstena he had taken nearly thirty castles and fortresses, and the whole of Halland, which, with Scânia and Blekingé, had once belonged to Sweden, but now formed part of the Danish territory. Stegeholm and Stockholm were the only fortresses still held (under certain stipulated conditions) by foreign commandants; the rest were either held by Swedes or destroyed. His army, which at last reached one hundred thousand men, was during this time under such perfect discipline that private property was respected in the minutest particulars.[2]

A fleet, which the King fitted out to repress this formidable insurrection, was scattered by a tempest; his own ship was wrecked; and when he arrived at Stockholm Engelbrect appeared suddenly before the town and occupied all the posts and roads in the neighbourhood. The King, thus anticipated, and pressed at once by the enemy and by famine, was

[1] Erici Olai, p. 131.

[2] "Adhuc commemorari solet Engelberti exercitum nec valorem quidem unius gallinæ alicui violenter abstulisse."—Johan. Magni, lib. 22-4.

glad to obtain a suspension of arms, upon condition that twelve arbiters, four from each of the united kingdoms, should assemble in October of the following year for the redress of grievances. In the mean time Engelbrect was unanimously elected Regent at Arboga in the beginning of 1435. That his army might not be altogether idle during the truce, he employed it in making the canal of South Telgé, to connect the navigation of the Baltic and Lake Mälar.[1]

Eric came to Stockholm the following year, when a new arrangement was made with him. The fortresses and provinces taken from the crown were to be restored. On the other hand the King undertook to govern the country by Swedish law, to revive the high offices of Riksdrots (steward) and Riksmarsk (marshal), not to levy taxes without consent of the council, and to place over all the fortresses of the kingdom, with the exception of Stockholm, Nyköping, and Calmar, native commandants. Christopher Nilson, of the house of Vasa, was appointed *Riksdrots*, and Charles Knutson, of the Bondés, *Riksmarsk*.[2] The latter asked the King for instructions. Eric, who had no doubt detected his ambitious character, told him, with a homely sententiousness of which he seems to have been fond, "not to stretch his feet beyond his bear-skin."[3] On another occasion,

[1] Erici Olai, pp. 133, 134.

[2] "Rogant insuper ut duos eis officiales regno omnino necessarios deputaret, Dapiferum scilicet et Marscalcum ne regnum staret sine justitia et ordine convivendi."—Erici Olai, p. 135; Olai Petri, p. 289.

[3] Rimchronica, p. 217.

when he thought the demands of the people somewhat extravagant, he informed them that he did not mean to be their "*Ja-herré*," *i.e.*, a king to say "Yes" to everything they proposed.[1]

Eric, however, if slow to assent, was still slower to carry out that to which he had assented. Danes and Swedes odious to the people were placed in command of the ceded fortresses; and instead of that due administration of justice which had been promised, the King's followers on his way back to Denmark landed at different parts of the coast and plundered the peasantry.

An attempt of the King, who was childless, to get his nephew, Bogislaus of Pomerania, appointed as his successor brought affairs to a crisis. The commandant at Stockholm had received orders to admit the young prince into the fortress, that the garrison might swear him allegiance. The inhabitants, informed of the project, secretly invited Engelbrect to make himself master of the place. The commandant at his approach shut the gates, and drew up the bridges; but the inhabitants hewed them down, and the garrison was compelled to retreat to the citadel, which was besieged by Eric Puké on one side, and Charles Knutson on the other.[2]

A new election for the regency now took place: thirty nobles were appointed the electors. There were three competitors, Engelbrect, Eric Puké, and

[1] Erici Olai, p. 135; Rimchronica, p. 218.

[2] Erici Olai, p. 137.

Knutson. If personal merit, or past services and successes, or the popular wish had determined the choice of the electors, it would have fallen upon Engelbrect. But his birth and favour with the people were both obstacles to him with a committee altogether aristocratically composed. One of his antagonists, Knutson, moreover, combined many natural and adventitious recommendations which made him a formidable opponent. He was tall, and of a masculine beauty, sagacious and subtle, prudent in speech, and captivating in his address. Besides all this, he was of high birth and the richest man of his time—points which weighed more, probably, with the electors than all the rest. He was elected by a large majority, the votes being on his side twenty-five, for Engelbrect three, and for Puké two.[1]

This result was alike unsatisfactory to Engelbrect, to Eric Puké, and the people. A compromise was at last effected. The command of the army in the country was given to Engelbrect; the management of affairs in the capital was retained by Knutson.[2]

A deed of treachery and bloodshed soon terminated this division of power. While returning from an expedition against the Danish border, Engelbrect was taken ill and brought sick to Örebro. In the neighbourhood of this town dwelt a powerful nobleman, an adherent of King Eric, named Bennet Stenson (Natt och Dag); there had been a feud

[1] Olai Petri, p. 291. [2] Ibid.

between Engelbrect and himself, which the latter now sought at a personal interview to terminate. Engelbrect received him with courtesy, and after having agreed to refer their quarrel to the council, resolved, at Stenson's suggestion, it is said, to return to Stockholm by water, being still too weak to travel on horseback. He embarked accordingly on the Lake Hjelmar, himself, his wife, and a few attendants, and passing by Göksholm castle, Stenson's abode, stopped for the night at a small island not far distant. Soon after a boat was seen approaching: Engelbrect who, supposed that it brought an invitation from his newly reconciled enemy, pointed out a suitable landing-place, and tottered towards it, leaning on his crutch. Out rushed from the boat a son of Stenson's, Magnus Bengtson, who asked him roughly whether through him he was never to have peace in the land. Upon his answer, that he knew of no strife between them, Bengtson struck at him with a hatchet, and the blow, which Engelbrect parried with his crutch, cut off three of his fingers. A second and third blow on the head and neck stretched him on the ground. The savage murderer, having first sent several arrows into the dead body, left his victim weltering in his blood, and carried off his wife and attendants to the neighbouring castle. This atrocious deed took place on the 27th of April, 1436; and thus perished one whose bravery and military talents, whose humanity and genuine patriotism secured him friends and admirers even in a class which for the most part en-

vied his success and opposed his advancement, while by the people he was honoured while living as the hero, and revered in death as the martyr of their cause; the popular belief running to the length of crediting that miracles were wrought at his tomb in Örebro, whither his remains, after having been buried by the peasants at Mallosa, were ultimately conveyed.[1]

The servants of Engelbrect and the people, having vainly attempted to storm Göksholm castle, were forced to content themselves with burning down the wooden buildings which lay without the walls. On the other hand, the Regent issued a proclamation forbidding any one to injure the murderer, and thus created or confirmed the suspicion that what had taken place had been done with his approbation at least, if not with his previous concurrence.[2]

After the death of Engelbrect, Knutson contrived to get rid of his more formidable rivals, who were so imprudent as to give him at once both a plausible pretext and a convenient occasion. Thus Broder Swenson in 1436, and Eric Puké in 1437, were put to death by his order. The Riksdrots, Christopher Nilson, was surprised at his country-seat, and sent to Vibourg castle, in Finland, in 1439. The new Riksmarsk, Nicholas Stenson, who had plotted with

[1] Erici Olai, p. 139; Rim. Chronica, p. 241. "Engelbrect qui tribus annis regnavit et postea interfectus est per quendam nobilem Magnum Bengston, sed modo, prout dicitur, plurimis coruscat miraculis in ecclesiâ Orebro qua est sepultus."—Diar. Vadst., p. 151.

[2] Erici Olai, p. 139.

him to bring back the King, fled to Gothland, where Eric, in the society of his mistress, and sharing the spoils with pirates, consoled himself for the loss of a throne which his own misconduct no less than the difficulties of his position had made first uneasy and then untenable.[1]

The Church, headed by the Archbishop of Upsala, and party rivalries, had been the chief means of preserving entire the slender bonds of allegiance which the faults and indifference of the King constantly threatened with dissolution. It was thus that his claims and title were continually set up and played against the substantial power of him who wielded his authority. Within five years from the breaking out of Engelbrect's insurrection, ten congresses for the redress of grievances, and for the confirmation of the union, were held at different places and under different names. The game perhaps might still have gone on, but the King himself was weary of it. Sweden therefore, following the example of Denmark, finally renounced his allegiance in the year 1439. He still continued to live for ten years in Gothland, and when compelled to quit it, ten years after, fled to Rügenwalde in Pomerania, where he died in the year 1459, aged 76, in obscurity and contempt.[2]

[1] Erici Olai, p. 142. Nicholas Stenson was brother-in-law to Knutson. Returning from Gothland with a body of 200 men, he was defeated and captured, and died three days after at Norköping.—Ib. "Rex in Gotlandiam festinavit et pirata factus ex rege multo tempore latrocinia exercens regnum Sueorum gravissime affligebat."—Ib. 144.

[2] Erici Olai, p. 143; Geijer, i. 234.

Christopher the Third, who succeeded Eric in the throne of Denmark, and whose claim to that of Sweden was with some difficulty acknowledged, reigned eight years. After his death Charles Knutson succeeded in procuring his own election to the Swedish Crown, and was proclaimed at Mora, in the year 1448. The Danes on their side, after the death of Christopher, chose as his successor Christian the First, of the house of Oldenburg, and a descendant of Håkan, King of Norway. In this choice the Norwegians concurred, and Christian now only waited for an opportunity of recovering the Crown of Sweden from the hands of the powerful subject who had grasped it.[1]

It is not my intention to dwell upon the various struggles and negotiations of the rival Kings, nor to enter into much detail of the events of this period. Suffice it to notice that the first cannon used as field-pieces in Sweden, to the number of twenty, mounted on sledges, and loaded with bullets of stone, were employed by Charles in his attack upon Scânia in the year 1452;[2] and that the war which was waged for some years with fluctuating success, towards 1456 began to turn against the Swedish King. He had neither courage nor military skill, so as to keep his own with an inferior force, or to use superior numbers to the best advantage.[3] By distrusting his

[1] Erici Olai, pp. 155, 157. [2] Rimchronica, p. 411.

[3] "In rebus bellicis minus quam tali officio expediebat instructus, meticulosus, et timidus."—Erici Olai, p. 159.

nobles he had multiplied his enemies in that order. His attack on the privileges and possessions of the Church, by the celebrated inquest of 1454, had stirred up against him a power with which he had not strength to grapple. Even the commons, with whom a native King was especially popular, had grown weary of the heavy taxations by which they were impoverished, of the conscriptions by which they were continually interrupted in their agricultural labours, and of the oppressions of the lieutenants, who, in the King's name, and under cover of the law, pillaged all who came within their reach.[1] At this period of declining influence Christian marched into Sweden, armed with a bull from the Pope, commanding Charles to give up Neriké and Vermanland, the dowry of the Danish Queen. The Archbishop, John Bengtsson, of the powerful family of the Oxenstjernas, was already in arms against him. An engagement took place at Strengness, where Charles was wounded. From thence he fled to Stockholm, but, finding his position in the capital insecure, and unable to make an accommodation with the Archbishop, he passed over to Dantzic in 1457, thus terminating for a while a ten years' contest, and leaving the throne open to his rival.[2]

Christian being now chosen king, was crowned at Upsala the 29th of June, 1457: in the following year the succession was secured to his son. The early popularity of his reign was soon changed into

[1] Erici Olai, p. 160. [2] Ib., p. 162.

universal discontent by the sums which he levied to buy off his brothers' joint interest in the duchy of Holstein. Suspecting the Archbishop of fostering this discontent, he carried him to Denmark, and detained him there for a while (as he himself informed the Pope) in honourable captivity.[1]

The King was no sooner gone than Kettil Carlson (Vasa), Bishop of Linköping and cousin to the captive prelate, took arms to avenge him. Coming over in mid-winter to suppress the tumult, Christian was hemmed in by the Dalesmen near Haraker in Vestmanland, and experienced a decisive defeat. Knutson was now recalled, but expelled again after six months by the Archbishop, who had been reconciled to Christian, released from prison, and joined by the Bishop of Linköping.[2] Charles remained in Finland from January, 1464, to November, 1467, in such poverty that he had not the means of paying a debt of forty marks. But shortly after his last recall, in 1467, which was occasioned by the victory of the

[1] Olai Petri, p. 305. The King excuses himself in a letter to Pope Pius II., dated the Feast of St. Bartholomew, 1463. After imputing to the Archbishop the greatest treachery and cruelty, he adds,—"Ex præmissis et aliis gravissimis causis dictum Archiepiscopum ne graviora mihi et singulis incolis regnorum meorum commoveat, de maturo et deliberato consilio honestæ custodiæ ad tempus duxi deputandum; non intendens per hoc ecclesiæ, ut regem decet Catholicum, aliquod afferre detrimentum."—Script. Rerum Danicarum, vol. vii. p. 417.

[2] The King's letters of reconciliation with the Archbishop and with Bishop Kettil Carlson are given in the Appendix to the Rimchronica, ed. Hadorph, pp. 228, 229. Both held the regency: the Archbishop in 1457, 1465, and 1466, the Bishop in 1464; the Archbishop being deposed in the autumn of 1466, Eric Axelson (Tott) was chosen in his stead.—Olai Petri, p. 316.

Sturés over the Danes at Vesterås, his old enemy the Archbishop, who had fled after that victory, died in exile. Other victories on the part of the Sturés, at Fahlun, at Oppoga Ferry, and at Tiveden Forest, assured his possession of the throne until his death, which took place at Stockholm on the 15th May, 1470, in his 62nd year, after a reign which was (says Olaus Petri) "little better than one continued tumult and civil war."[1]

Sten (Stephen) Sturé, called the Elder—whom his uncle on his deathbed advised never to seek the crown—was the son of Gustaf Sturé, by Brita Bjelké, half-sister to King Charles. His first campaign was made in 1464 against Christian, under the Bishop of Linköping: he afterwards served with great distinction under his namesake Nils (Nicholas) Sturé. He was chosen Regent at Arboga on the 1st May, 1471, chiefly through the peasants and burghers, but also with the consent of a majority of the nobles.[2]

On the other hand, Christian was proclaimed king in different parts of the kingdom; many flocked to his banner. He himself having laid siege to Stockholm at the head of a considerable force, the Sturés marched to its relief, and on the 11th October, 1471, the celebrated battle of Brunkeberg took place.[3]

Brunkeberg, now levelled and built over, was then a ridge of sand without the city of Stockholm. The

[1] Geijer, i. 251; Olai Petri, 319.
[2] See Appendix.
[3] Olai Petri, 321.

King had thrown up upon it a wooden fort protected with large guns to cover his troops in the event of a sally. To the north of the fort the King was posted with one division of his army; another division, the left wing, was stationed at the convent of St. Clara; a third was with the fleet at the little island now called Blasii-holmen. Across the stream, which then separated the island from the north suburb (Norrmalm), the Danes had thrown a bridge to keep up the communication with the fleet.[1]

The Swedish army—which was also composed of three divisions—having first prayed and confessed, marched to the attack singing for a war-song the *visa* of St. George, and wearing boughs and straws in their bonnets and helmets, to distinguish their own men from those of the same provinces in the ranks of the enemy. One division under Nils Sturé was detached to march by a circuitous route and fall upon the Danish left wing, but met with so many impediments of wood and rock in executing the manœuvre as scarcely to arrive in time to save the battle.

Sten Sturé himself, with the two remaining divisions, marched against the King, and was supported by Knut Possé with a force of 2000 men, brought out from the town in boats, who burnt the fort, while Sturé charged the division, which the King personally commanded, but without success. In a second charge

[1] The division at St. Clara is sometimes called the *right* wing, Christian's army being considered as besieging Stockholm, and not as defending itself against Sturé.

the Regent succeeded in planting his standard on the summit of the hill, but could not maintain his advantage; he charged a third time, and was once more driven back. But now Knut Possé fell upon the division stationed at St. Clara, and, Sten Sturé seconding this movement by directing his forces to the same point, the Danes on the hill abandoned their advantageous post in order to save their comrades. The battle was still obstinately contended: at length the Swedes seemed to lose ground, when the arrival of Nils Sturé changed the complexion of affairs, and the Danes were put to flight.

In the battle, which lasted from eleven till two, the King was struck with a bullet, which broke three of his front teeth; he himself wounded Possé, the leader of the sally, with his own hand. The Regent's wife and the ladies of the court watched the contest from the citadel. A peasant, whose *sobriquet* was Starké Björn (Strong Bear), kept in front of Sten Sturé's horse during the battle, and with a huge sword cleared the way before him. The King escaped with difficulty to the fleet; many in attempting to reach it were drowned, the townspeople of Stockholm having during the engagement sawn through the bridge which led to the island. An old Danish writer informs us that some threw themselves into the water under the witcheries of one Dr. Ryling, Proconsul at Stockholm;[1] but it may well be doubted whether any

[1] Upon which Johannes Magnus—"Dani retulerunt eam adversam belli fortunam sibi non tam viribus Sueonum quam magicis artibus

wands or enchantments were employed so potent as the swords of the enemy and their shouts in pursuit.

The loss of the Danes is stated to have been from 700 to 900 drowned, besides those slain on the field, and 900 prisoners.[1]

The Swedes of Christian's army who gained the ships encountered there a fresh peril. The Danes, attributing their defeat to treachery, would have thrown them overboard had not the King prevented it. He himself quitted Sweden for ever, and left it to enjoy during the remaining ten years of his life a degree of peace and prosperity to which it had been long a stranger.[2]

Thus virtually ended in that kingdom the reign of a prince whom the Danes reckon among the best of their monarchs, and who would fain have secured the happiness of all parts of his dominions, but "who shares in Sweden," says Geijer, "the unpopularity of the union, and whose memory is blended with the evils, which that measure brought in its train." "In person he was strong, tall, and well made, in disposition pious and God-fearing, kind and moderate,"[3]

cujusdam Doctoris Ryllingi proconsulis Stockholmensis obvenisse, quasi nulla alia ratione summam illorum ignaviam, qui se sponte submerserint, excusare potuissent."—Lib. 23, 9.

[1] There is the usual circumstantial variety in the account of this battle as given in the Rimchronica (by an eye-witness) by Olaus and Laurentius Petri and others. I have given the account which, upon a comparison of several both ancient and modern authors, seems to me most probable.

[2] Geijer, vol. i. p. 260.

[3] Hvitfeldt.

brave in war, but delighting in peace, with a courage that never degenerated into ferocity, and a piety which was at once fervent and, for that age, free from superstition. He died on the 22nd May, 1481, aged 55, and was buried in the cathedral of Roskild.[1]

Though after the battle of Brunkeberg negotiations had been frequently set on foot for the re-establishment of the union, they produced no tangible result until 1483, when at Calmar the treaty was once more renewed, and John, the son of Christian, declared King of the three kingdoms.

Some rather one-sided conditions, and others sufficiently stringent, are found in the 51 articles of which the treaty consists. The King was to pay all his father's debts in the three kingdoms, and yet was to remit all claims for arrears in respect to his mother's dowry. Neither he nor his wife nor children were to buy or take in mortgage any noble fief: on the contrary, the nobles might hold fiefs from the crown without fine or service, might fortify their castles, might refuse entrance to the King himself, and even give free harbourage to those who should fall under his displeasure, providing only they were willing to stand their trial before the State Council, and were not lawfully proscribed or condemned. No new taxes were to be levied nor war to be made with-

[1] Princeps humanissimus, et qui præter profusionem suarum rerum non haberet quod in eo carperetur.—Petri Olai, Script. Rer. Dan., vol. i. p. 146. Fortitudine, armis, et victoriis potens, gloria et magnificentia dives, fide vero ac religione pius.—Chron. Skibyense Rest; Script. Rer. Dan., vol. ii. p. 559.

out the consent of the States; no troops to be quartered upon bishops, monasteries, or tenants in capite of the crown; none of the King's servants to be maintained at the expense of the towns and cities except the King should be with them; no foreigners to have command or authority in the kingdom; and all the privileges of the church to be confirmed—provisions which, hard as they were upon the King, it was natural enough for those to make who had formerly suffered from a stretch of royal authority, and who, after a successful contest, had enjoyed that authority too long to lay it willingly aside.[1] It is observable, however, that the commons, who had borne the chief part in obtaining the victory, had the smallest share of its spoils, and that, by an express provision of the treaty, no noble fief could be purchased by any one, who was not a nobleman.

Many years elapsed before John actually came to Denmark, "partly because he was unable to pay his father's debts, and partly because the Swedes did not care to have him."[2]

But the loss of the greatest army that Sweden had ever sent out of the kingdom, in the war against Russia in 1495, and the fruitless operations of a fresh army sent against the same power in the following year, the Regent's neglect to fill up the vacancies in the State Council, his reluctance to carry out the treaty of Calmar of 1483, and his policy of relying

[1] Appendix to Rimchronica, Hadorph, p. 318.
[2] Geijer, after Olaus Petri.

upon the people rather than the aristocracy, produced such dissatisfaction that the Council, in 1497, invited King John to come over and occupy the throne.[1]

He obeyed the summons at the head of an army, which he posted on the formerly unfortunate field of Brunkeberg. According to the plan of Sturé, who held Stockholm, the Dalesmen were to attack the King in front, while he made a sally in the rear—in other words, the tactics of the former field were to be repeated. But John obtained intelligence and prevented the execution of this scheme of placing him between two fires. Marching out to meet the Dalesmen, he defeated them at Rötebro, to the number, according to Danish accounts, of 30,000; returning thence he fell upon and destroyed the force commanded by the Regent, who himself narrowly escaped capture, having been obliged to swim across the Norrström on horseback, and to re-enter the town through a sallyport.[2]

An accommodation was now brought about between himself and the King, and they entered arm in arm into Stockholm. The King was crowned on the 25th November, 1497; Sten Sturé appointed Rikshofmästere (High Steward), Swanté Sturé Riksmarsk, and the former one of the four councillors upon whom the government devolved when the King, in the following January, returned to Den-

[1] Olai Petri, p. 330; Geijer, i. 267.

[2] Rimchronica, pp. 518, 519; Geijer, i. 268. This was on the 28th October, 1497.

mark. He came back again the next year with his son Christian, then about seventeen, who was proclaimed his successor.[1]

The nobles did not long continue satisfied with the King; and when, after the unfortunate battle near Meldorp in the Ditmarches, 17th February, 1500, where the flower of Denmark's and Holstein's armies were defeated by peasants, he returned to Sweden, the discontent was openly manifested. Some fruitless negotiations took place: the State Council accused the King of not having kept the conditions of Calmar recess; of having appointed Danish commandants and lieutenants to the fortresses of the kingdom; of not having repaid some of the State Council the damage they had sustained; of having carried gold and silver out of the kingdom, &c. They therefore renounced their fealty to him, and again chose Sten Sturé Regent on the 11th November, 1501.[2]

The King had left to his Queen, Christina, the defence of Stockholm, which was besieged by Hemming Gadd, Bishop (elect) of Linköping, with a promise of returning to her relief. The town soon capitulated, but the citadel held out for eight months; and when at last surrendered by the Queen upon condition of safety to the goods and persons of herself and followers, there were found, out of a garrison of 1000 men, 70 only living, and of these no more

[1] Laurentii Petri, p. 138. Soon after Easter, 1499.

[2] Olai Petri, p. 333.

than ten in health. Three days after the surrender the King arrived, but, finding he had come too late, returned to Denmark. The Queen was permitted to retire to the convent of Vadstena. Half a year after she was released and conducted to the frontier by the Regent, who, on his return, sickened and died at Iönköping the 13th December, 1503, not without suspicion of having been poisoned.[1]

During a considerable portion of the regency of Sten Sturé the Elder, Sweden enjoyed a greater degree of prosperity than at any other period of the union. His policy and his praise are at once comprised in what King John uttered against him as a reproach, that "he had made the nobles serfs, and the serfs nobles."[2] For this, being justly interpreted, meant no more than that he had in some measure curbed the encroachments of the nobles, and protected the rights of the commons. His devotion and liberality secured him the support of the ecclesiastics, his justice and sympathy that of the common people; and with these two orders combined in his favour, he had a force sufficient to keep the third in check, and, in the absence of enemies from without, to secure to the kingdom internal tranquillity. Sweden was indebted to him for the introduction of the printing-press, and the first foundation of the University of Upsala, which however during the succeeding troubles fell into decay. He was buried in the

[1] Olai Petri, p. 334; Laurentii Petri, p. 139.
[2] Olai Petri, p. 332.

monastery of Gripsholm, which he founded. His only son had died in 1493.[1] Swanté Sturé, son of the late Nils Sturé, a frank, brave soldier, was chosen successor to the deceased Regent, through the stratagem and influence of Hemming Gadd, who virtually shared with him the regency, and kept the kingdom in a perpetual feud with Denmark until his (the Regent's) death, which took place at Vesterås, when the subject of a newly-discovered silver-mine was under discussion, and had called forth more than usual interest and excitement. In this case also, as in all other instances of sudden death in that age, poison was suspected.

After his death the regency was contested by his son Sten Sturé the Younger and Eric Trollé. The first, who was of a noble character, and popular both with the people and the younger nobility, was at last elected; but the passions which had been called forth by the contest did not terminate with it. At the entertainment given in Stockholm Castle to celebrate the election, Eric Abrahamson Lejonhufvud stabbed, so as to endanger his life, a nobleman of the opposite faction, and Gustavus Trollé, though raised to the bishopric of Upsala by the influence of the Regent, never forgave him his success.[2]

[1] Olai Petri, p. 337; Rimchronica.

[2] Olai Petri, p. 336. Sed durior erat in Archiepiscopo animus, quam quod permitteret sibi aliquam concordiam persuaderi cum Stenone, qui patrem Ericum a tam amplo principatu seclusisset, spemque maximam in Danorum rege Christierno se reponere ostendebat. —Joh. Magni, lib. 24, p. 1.

King John died on the 21st of February, 1513, in the 58th year of his age and the 32nd of his reign—his death having been accelerated by a fall from his horse. He was with reason regretted as a generally just and humane prince, an enemy to all display, and distinguished in his own court chiefly by the modesty of his demeanour. He was subject, however, to attacks of melancholy and suspicion, under the influence of which he hanged his accountant-general, whom he had raised from obscurity, and connived at the murder of Laxmand, the Grand Master of the kingdom.[1]

His son and successor, Christian the Second, inherited the darker traits, but not the virtues, of his father's character. A war, promoted and conducted by Gustavus Trollé, put an end, in 1516, to the negotiations which were carried on from time to time with a view to procuring the new King's acknowledgment in Sweden; and it was while serving under the Regent, against the Archbishop, that Gustavus Vasa first drew his sword in a cause which early feelings and prejudices, the cruelties already perpetrated by Christian in Norway, and possibly an incipient ambition, made precious and sacred in his sight.

[1] Olai Petri, p. 337; Mallet, Histoire de Dannemarc, liv. 6, p. 380 The Chronicon Skibyense acquits him, apparently, of connivance at the murder, when enumerating the worst points of his character: "Quod si Rex iste conjugii fidem servasset temperassetque à bello et sanguine, in quo tamen casu magis quam proposito inciderat, abstinuissetque etiam ab iniquâ sententiâ quam decernebat contra heredes Pauli Laxmand Magistri Equitum, fuisset Princeps sane et optimus et felicissimus."—Rer. Dan. Scrip., vol. ii. p. 564.

It is by no means certain that, had the Danish Kings of the Union adhered to the treaty of Calmar as religiously as some of them notoriously violated it, it would have been an easy thing to maintain content and tranquillity in Sweden. In the first place, there existed, in the oppressions and pretensions of the nobles, and in their mutual rivalries, constant elements of discord. Their attempts to assert the distinctions of caste, and to close the path of honour to a free-born and high-spirited people, was to enlist against them the enmity of the latter, which was ready on every provocation, at the bidding of the patriotic or the ambitious among the nobles themselves, to break out into open hostility. Other causes of disquiet were ever more or less at work in the wealth and privileges of the clergy, and, combined with these, in the poverty of the people, who, frequently visited with short harvests, and having only slender resources from commerce, bore the ordinary burthens of the state with difficulty, and every extra call with a pain proportionate to the pressure. It was not that the imposts, with reference to the exigencies of the state, were always too much to ask, but that, with reference to the means of the people, they were almost always too much to pay. Although therefore the enthusiasm of a popular cause might for a while induce them to bear extraordinary burthens without a murmur, the result of a continued pressure was invariably discontent.

The officers charged with the collection of the

revenue had an arduous task under such circumstances. Compelled by their duty to punish the frauds by which their demands were evaded, or the violence by which they were defied, they stirred up against themselves an animosity which they generally learned to reciprocate, and which often led them, even when not originally so inclined, to harshness and oppression.

When this state of things occurred under a foreign king and under foreign lieutenants, it created, of course, a more undivided hostility against the government, as was evident in the insurrection of Engelbrect; but Charles Knutson also found by dear-bought experience that even the *prestige* of a native king, employing only native officers, could not avail to prevent rebellion when those officers were required to collect much out of a slender store.

If the obvious expedient of taxing the untaxed were attempted to replenish the state's exhausted coffers, it was to provoke an order whose wealth already equalled all the revenues of the Crown—an order with whom the learning and intelligence of the times was, in a great degree, deposited, and which was strong alike in the affection and in the superstition of the people. Charles Knutson had seen that a blow aimed at the Church was apt to recoil with stunning force upon the man who dealt it; while, on the other hand, the Church made it sufficiently apparent throughout the Union that its favour would cling to the Prince, native or foreign, patriotic or

tyrant, who would heap upon it the amplest honours, and enrich it with the largest possessions.

Every fief, however, granted to the Church, by lessening the taxable area of the country or the amount of available military service, increased the State's financial difficulties, and *pro tanto* the disloyalty and discontent which these engendered; and the warlike prelates of the time were no less ready than the more powerful of the secular nobles to take advantage of the discontent to avenge their own wrongs, to establish their own independence, or to gratify their own ambition.

To reduce this chaos into order and permanent obedience to one presiding head, whose interests should be bound up with those of Sweden, was the mission destined for Gustavus. Of the complicated means by which it was to be effected, of the ruin of that great establishment by the dust of whose fall the conflicting elements were partly to be tranquillized, of the pinnacle to which it was to exalt himself, he could have had, when he first girded on his sword, not the slightest conjecture; but of the mission itself it is probable that he had then, and even before, an instinctive dream.

CHAPTER II.

Ancestry of Gustavus — His birth and childhood — Received at the court of Sten Sturé — The Archbishop before the States — Battle of Bränkyrka — Treachery of the King — Gustavus prisoner in Denmark — Escapes to Lubeck — His wanderings — Death of the Regent — Battle with the peasants — Stockholm surrendered — The coronation — Didrik Slaghec's counsel — The King's continued perjuries — Massacre in the capital.

GUSTAVUS VASA, or, as he was called before he became King, Gustavus Erikson—patronymics being at that time generally used in Sweden, even among the nobility, instead of family names—was descended from an ancient and distinguished race, which, two hundred years before, had given members to the State Council. He himself was jealous of the fame of his ancestors, and took delight in representing his elevation to the throne as a restoration of the royal lines of Magnus Ladulås and Charles Knutson. The name of Vasa, derived by some from Vasa-gård in Upland, arose probably, like that of Lejonhufvud (Lion-head), Swinhufvud (Boar-head), and many others, from the device on the family escutcheon. The device represented originally either a *fascine* or a sheaf; and as the colour was then black and the age almost exclusively warlike, the first appears the preferable conjecture, though, when in 1540 Gustavus

changed the colour to gold, he seems to have put the peaceful interpretation upon the ambiguous emblem.[1]

The great-grandfather of Gustavus was the Christopher Nilson who was made *Riksdrots* by Eric of Pomerania. His father, Eric Johanson, was a member of the State Council; and his mother, Cecilia-til-Eka, half-sister to Christina Gyllenstjerna, the wife of the younger Sten Sturé. He was born at Lindholm, in Roslagen, a place then belonging to his grandmother, Sigrid Baner, twenty-one miles from Stockholm. The year of his birth is variously given by ancient writers, and even by his own contemporary relations, the dates varying from 1488 to 1497.[2] Geijer has fixed his birth in the year 1496, because Gustavus is known to have been born "on the 12th May, which was also Ascension-day," and of all the disputed years it is only in 1496 that the festival falls on that day of the month. Several collateral circumstances, especially the dates of his going to school and leaving it, confirm this conjecture.[3]

The ladies who were present on the auspicious occasion saw, or fancied they saw, in the newborn infant presages of his future greatness. On his head there was a caul, which appeared to them, as it were,

[1] Ziervogel contends that the device always represented a cornsheaf, "fascis segetum colligatus."—Usus Rei Nummariæ, pt. 3, p. 182.

[2] Tegel gives the date 1499, which later writers have generally followed. "King Charles the Ninth makes his father two years older, and his nephew, Peter Brahé, five years younger."—Geijer, vol. ii. p. 5.

[3] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 5.

a helmet, on his bosom a crimson cross. He was named Gustavus after his maternal grandfather.[1]

When he was four years old, King John, on one of his last visits to Sweden, observing the boy at play with some of his companions, prophesied that he would one day be "a man," and proposed taking him to Denmark. But Sten Sturé, suspecting that the offer was made rather that the King might have a pledge of his fidelity than for Gustavus's advantage, declined it on the ground of the child's tender years, and sent him home to his father, that he might be freed from importunities, which, without betraying suspicion, it might have been difficult to resist.[2]

In the year 1509 he was sent to school at Upsala, under one Master Ivar, a Dane, whom Gustavus hated both for his nation and his severity. He came in for his share of the latter in the shape of corporal punishment, an indignity which the "Vasa blood" angrily resented; and, Ivar having one day spoken contemptuously of the Swedes, Gustavus is said to have drawn out his sword, thrust it through the book they were reading, and quitted the school to return no more.[3]

[1] Peter Brahé ap. Celsium. "Gustavus in arce nascitur Lindholmensi 12 Maii (1490) galeam in capite membraneam et rubicundam in pectore crucem de utero proferens materno hisque palam faciens prodigiis in quantum evasurus esset heroem."—Messenii Scondi Illustrata, tom. iv. p. 47.

[2] Tegel, vol. i. p. 3. Dalin quotes a saying attributed to John on the occasion "that the young wolf had escaped his toils."—Vol. iii. p. 4.

[3] Tegel, vol. i. p. 3; Celsius, vol. i. p. 26; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 6.

While he was at Upsala, canon-law, theology, and music were his chief studies. He himself made there musical instruments of different kinds, which he kept afterwards in a separate room of Stockholm castle as memorials of his boyish ingenuity. His favourite haunts in the neighbourhood of Upsala are still upon record, and it was there that, under the bright blue sky and exhilarating influences of a northern winter, he mingled in the wolfskall, and in the other manly sports of his gallant nation.[1]

He used to dress, in his school-days, in a scarlet frock of English manufacture, and was at that time remarkable for his cheerful and amiable, though somewhat hasty disposition, for his ready eloquence, for his tenacious memory, and for a patience in counsel so happily blended with decision, that his projects were never prematurely attempted, nor deferred after they were ripe for execution.[2]

All accounts agree that he was received at the Court of Sten Sturé the younger in the year 1514. He was then eighteen; and here he was placed under the quasi-tuition of Hemming Gadd, who had been *Mathematicus* to Pope Alexander the Third, written a history of Sweden which was much prized, who was a sworn enemy to the Danes, and an able though rusé politician. The instructions of this man, towards whom Gustavus was drawn by admiration and

[1] Celsius, vol. i. p. 27. For a description of the wolfskall see Lloyd's 'Northern Field Sports,' vol. ii. p. 202.

[2] Celsius, ib.

political sympathy, had a sensible and not always a beneficial influence upon his character.[1]

A Danish reinforcement having been sent to relieve Gustavus Trollé, who was besieged by the Regent in his castle of Stekeborg, Gustavus assisted in repelling it. The Archbishop was now compelled to renew the negotiations, which he had broken off on the Danes' arrival, and to consent to appear, under the protection of a safe-conduct, before the States assembled at Stockholm.[2] His bearing before that assembly, however, was suited rather to his haughty character than to the posture of his affairs. He entered the hall with a proud step and a severe countenance, denied their jurisdiction, and reproached them with being the slaves of a young man who was sacrificing them to his ambition.[3] Irritated with this language, or in pursuance of a previous determination, the Council deposed him from his office, and ordered Stekeborg to be razed to the ground. The chief members of the assembly were compelled to affix their seals to the decree. The President, however, John Brask, Bishop of Linköping, took the precaution to place under his seal a paper to the

[1] "Hoc anno studiis valedicens ad illius (Stenonis) se contulit aulam in qua diu cum Hemmingo Gaddio conversatus insignem rerum experientiam acquisivit."—Scond. Illust., tom. iv. p. 73; Celsius, vol. i. p. 28.

[2] Geijer inadvertently says Arboga; but both Olaus and Laurentius Petri write Stockholm, and so Messenius, vol. iv. p. 78.

[3] Mallet, Histoire de Dannemarc, vol. vi. p. 431; Celsius, vol. i. p. 52; Dalin.

effect that his consent had been extorted. This "bit of Romanism," as the evangelical Olaus Petri calls it, afterwards saved his life.[1]

In the mean time the Archbishop returned to his castle, but being hard pressed by the Regent was compelled to surrender. Stekeborg was then levelled to the ground by the populace, from whose hands the prelate himself was with difficulty rescued. The conditions imposed upon him were such as fear and vengeance dictated. He was compelled by a formal act to renounce his archbishopric and swear never to reclaim it, and to retire to the monastery of Vesterås, where, according to Messenius, he was personally ill-treated.[2]

They who took part in this triumph little knew with what vengeance it was to be repaid. Still less could Gustavus anticipate the manner in which it was to affect his future destiny, and that it was to lead him not through successive triumphs, but through perils, sorrows, and humiliations to a throne!

On St. Magdalen's day, 1518, the following year, the battle of Bränkyrka took place between the King and Sten Sturé. After this battle, in which Gustavus bore the Swedish chief banner and was honourably distinguished, the Danes, who were defeated and lost 300 prisoners, resolved to retreat. But the wind was contrary, and the fleet was sorely pressed by

[1] Olai Petri, pp. 339, 340.

[2] Olai Petri, p. 340; Scond. Illust., tom. iv. p. 79.

famine. The King, to gain time and supplies, commenced negotiations for a peace, pending which the Regent furnished the squadron with oxen and other provisions. Convinced now of the generous character of his enemy, the King invited him to a personal conference on board his ship, and Sturé would have fallen into the snare thus spread for him, had not the town council of Stockholm declared that if he went on board they would soon have another Regent, for they were sure he would never come back. Foiled in this project, the King professed his readiness to come on shore himself, provided suitable hostages were sent to the squadron. This being agreed to, six nobles were chosen for the purpose—Gustavus Erickson, Hemming Gadd, Lars Siggeson (of the Sparré family), and three others; but the boat which was to convey them on board had not accomplished half the passage when a Danish ship with 100 men on board cut them off, and carried them to the fleet as prisoners. A favourable breeze springing up took away all hope of rescue. The ships weighed anchor, the sails filled, and they were soon landed on the coast of Denmark.[1]

It was the good fortune of Gustavus to be committed to the care of a relation, Eric Baner, living at the castle of Kallö in North Jutland, who became bound to the King in the sum of 6000 dollars for

[1] Olai Petri, p. 340. The names of the hostages were given in Christian's safe-conduct.—Tegel, vol. i. p. 5.

his safe custody. Here he was put upon his parole, and suffered none of the rigors of captivity. But a tempest was gathering over Sweden, and sounds of the coming storm soon reached his ears. At the instance of Gustavus Trolle, Sten Sture and his adherents had been excommunicated, and the kingdom laid under an interdict. This was not all. An immense armament was in preparation against the Swedes; Copenhagen was filled with English, Scotch, French, and German troops; new taxes were levied, money raised everywhere, and by all means, to meet the expenses of the expedition. The campaign was fixed for 1520, and was to open in the winter, that season affording, in Sweden, the greatest facilities for the march and transport of troops and baggage.[1] At the hall-table Gustavus heard these rumours discussed with triumphant levity. The young soldiers boasted that they would soon play with the Swedes the game of St. Peter, and jestingly parcelled out among themselves the wealth and beauty of the nation. This table-talk was rather an unsavoury condiment to the fare with which Eric Baner regaled his kinsman, and which, consisting, as it did, of salt junk, sour ale, black bread, and rancid herring, was in itself not the most palatable. He resolved to escape, with the hope of reaching Sweden in time to

[1] "Winter is not the season which is worst for the Swede. The bridges, which Nature then stretches over the lakes and streams, open communications between remote provinces; and our severer cold, because it is pure and dry, is not so disagreeable as the less sharp but foggy cold of more southern climates."—Forsell's Statistik, 1844, p. 23.

defend his country, or at least of being ready for any favourable juncture which might arise.[1]

Early one morning in the autumn of 1519 he left the castle disguised, according to some as a pilgrim, but according to others as a drover, and travelled with such speed that the first day he left forty-two English miles behind him. Passing through Flensborg he came to Lubeck on the last day of September, and threw himself upon the protection of the Burgomaster and Council.[2] As soon as Eric Baner discovered the retreat of Gustavus, he hastened to Lubeck, armed with a letter from the King, and demanded back his prisoner. He complained at the same time that Gustavus had effected his escape, contrary to his pledged word as a knight and his obligations as a kinsman. Gustavus spoke in his own defence. "I was captured," he said, "contrary to all justice and plighted faith. It is notorious, that I went to the King's fleet as a hostage. Let any one, who can, point out the place where I was made prisoner in battle, or declare the crime for which I deserved chains. Call me not, then, a prisoner, but a man seized upon unjustly, overreached, betrayed. I am now in a free city, and before a Government renowned for justice, and for befriending the persecuted. Shall I then be altogether deceived in the confidence I have reposed in them? or can breach

[1] Tegel, 1519; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 7.

[2] Tegel, 1519; Hvitfeldt. 12 old Swedish miles = 6 new = 42 English. Geijer, vol. ii. p. 9.

of faith be reasonably objected to me by one, who never himself kept oath or promise? or can it be wondered, that I should free myself from a prison, which I deserved by no fault, except that of trusting the assurances of a king? The sum of money which the King demands shall, when I reach Sweden, be immediately sent over; for I must not be a loss to Baner, who took me into his house away from the King's watchful severity, and showed me friendship and kindness."[1]

The 6000 dollars were, in effect, extracted by Christian from poor Baner, and Gustavus had it not in his power, after his return to Sweden, to fulfil his pledge of immediate repayment. After his elevation to the throne he positively denied that he was on parole at Kallö. "We were not there" (he writes) "as a prisoner, nor had we given any pledge to remain there, though we find that he (Baner) without any proof says so."[2]

There is a difficulty in giving credit to this denial. Not to mention the improbability that Baner should not have secured himself, by the parole of his prisoner, when he gave him comparative liberty, it is highly improbable that, if no promise had been given, this should not have been pleaded at Lubeck. It was, if true, a complete answer to the only plea on which the Council could, with any show of honour,

[1] Peter Brahé; Hist. Gust. MS., apud Celsium, p. 80.

[2] Letter to Magnus Göye, Reg. i.; Riks. Arch. 1529, apud Geijer, vol. ii. p. 9.

have withdrawn their protection. Add to this the positive assertion of Hvitfeldt, that "Gustavus promised, in the presence of Sunsee von Millen and many other credible witnesses, that he would remain a prisoner at Kallö, and not go farther than to church, and to shoot about a mile (Swedish) around the castle," and we must, I think, conclude that Gustavus did pass his word to Baner, and, under the smart of the treachery of which he had been the victim, and the pressure of strong temptation, broke it.[1]

The shrewd burgesses who listened to the defence of Gustavus were not likely to be misled by his rhetoric, but they would have been of stern stuff indeed, had they not compassionated a fine, spirited young man, the dupe of a faithless tyrant, and not felt reluctant to give him over a second time to his tender mercies. Motives of policy, however, happily told also in Gustavus's favour. Christian, as undisturbed king of the three northern kingdoms, would possess a power which, he had given reason to suspect already, he would not use with moderation nor for the advantage of the Hanse Towns; but if a young nobleman of high birth, fearless character, and first-rate talents, hating him at once with hereditary hate and personal animosity, should, by following the Engelbrects and Sturés, become a thorn in his side and a clog upon his movements, he might perhaps be more manageable. This view of the matter Nils Bröm, the burgomaster,

[1] Hvitfeldt, Christian II., anno 1520, vol. viii. p. 164.

put forcibly before his colleagues, and so they agreed, instead of giving up Gustavus, to send him back to his own country. "For who knows," said the worthy Council, "what he may do when he gets there?"[1]

The doctrines of the Reformation were first heard by Gustavus during his stay at Lubeck, and the impressions then made upon his mind prepared him probably for the distinguished part he afterwards bore in that resurrection of truth and reason.[2] Affairs, however, of a more immediate interest now claimed the chief share of his thoughts. He had heard of Sten Sturé's defeat and death, and longed to be once again in Sweden to revive the drooping courage of the patriotic party.

Having entered into an engagement with the Lubeckers to supply him with troops and money, when he should be in a condition to employ them with advantage against Christian, he embarked in the month of May, 1520, in a merchant vessel, bound to Stockholm, with the intention of offering his services to the Regent's widow, who still gallantly defended that fortress. Unable to carry out this plan, from the capital being invested on all sides, he steered for Calmar, which also still held out against the King. But, the Danish admiral, Severin Norby, lying off the town, he landed at a small headland in the neighbourhood, and proceeded thither on foot. Cordially welcomed by the widow of the late commandant, he

[1] Tegel, 1519; Hvitfeldt; Dalin, vol. iii. p. 8; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 10.
[2] Dalin, vol. iii. chap. i. pp. 8, 9.

endeavoured, in vain, to breathe some spirit into the inhabitants, and the German garrison answered his exhortations to continued resistance so roughly that his life was in imminent peril.[1]

Finding his presence useless, he left the place on the same day that Norby summoned it to surrender. From Calmar he proceeded to Småland, amid his father's tenants. Even there he was not safe. This province and East Gothland were so filled with Danes that it was only by a continual change of quarters and disguises that he escaped detection; and his countrymen, when he urged them to rise and shake off the yoke, answered, "Salt and herrings will not fail us so long as we obey the King, but if we rise we are sure of ruin." During the whole summer he was travelling by by-ways, sleeping one night in the woods, the next in the open fields, disguised and persecuted, a price set on his head. In September he appeared, without clothes or money, at the house of his brother-in-law, J. Brahé, whom he could not persuade to disobey the summons which he had received to be present at the approaching coronation. The unhappy man, fearing to bring trouble and suspicion on his family, and encouraged by the example of other great nobles, set out on the journey which was to be his last.[2]

Gustavus meanwhile proceeded to his father's place at Raefness, where he had frequent communi-

[1] Tegel, 1520.

[2] Celsius, vol. i. pp. 83, 84; Geijer, vol. ii. pp. 11, 12.

cations with the ex-Archbishop, Jacob Ullfson, from whom he received particulars of the late disaster.

The Danish army, commanded by General Otto Krumpé, landed in Sweden in the beginning of January, 1520. On the 19th Sten Sturé met him upon the lake Åsund, near Bogesund[1] (in West-Gothland), then hard frozen over. The Regent, who was at the head of his troops, was wounded in the thigh, at the beginning of the battle, and compelled to quit the field; his whole army was then dispersed or destroyed. The victors marched on to Tivéden, but were there obstructed by a barrier of felled wood, well defended, in attempting to surmount which they suffered severely. A Swedish nobleman, however, Eric Abrahamson (Lejonhufvud), acting as their guide, and enabling them to turn this position, the defenders were overmatched and driven away.[2]

The Regent, finding that the barrier at Tivéden had been turned, hastened on to defend Stockholm, but did not live to reach it. After his death none of the nobles would undertake to succeed him in his perilous office, and at a meeting held at Upsala a large proportion submitted to Christian, and received in return an indemnity for past transgressions. The Danes, strong in their arms and discipline, took little account of the peasants, who still from time to time made head against them. "If the skies rained peasants," they said, "they would fight them all." The peasants, notwithstanding, assisted by some troops

[1] Now Ulricehamn. [2] Olai Petri, p. 341.

from Stockholm, attacked, on Good Friday, the army of the Danes drawn up before Upsala. A snow-storm during the battle prevented the Danes from using their artillery, and their cavalry from acting with effect, for the snow balled under the horses' feet, and both horse and rider continually rolled to the ground. Had the Swedes then had a leader to prevent them from leaving their ranks in search of plunder, the victory might have been complete. The Danes confessed, that when they said they would fight with a shower of peasants they had spoken foolishly. "For when God withdraws his hand from the warrior, a poor peasant is as good as he."[1]

At Whitsuntide Christian came over with a fleet, and invested Stockholm, at the same time using the mediation of the Bishop of Strengness and Hemming Gadd to procure a surrender. The measure was not popular, and Hemming Gadd was nearly killed by Peter Fredag for proposing it; but "the chiefs were in its favour, and the rest must needs give in." The terms were a complete oblivion of all past political offences, not only at Stockholm, but throughout the realm, and these terms were ratified by the King in the most solemn manner, no form of law, no sanction of religion being omitted that could inspire confidence in the treaty. When all was finished the burgomasters met the King upon the south suburb, presented to him the keys of the city, and then conducted him

[1] Olai Petri, p. 343.

in solemn procession, first to the churches in the town, then to the castle, and finally to the house of one of the citizens, Gofius Holst, where he remained an inmate.[1] Christian left Sweden after a short time, but returned in the month of October, and summoned all the nobles and dignitaries throughout the kingdom to be at Stockholm on All Saints' day, the 1st of November, to celebrate his coronation.

What took place on that memorable occasion Gustavus learnt from one who had escaped from the scene of horrors.[2]

The King was proclaimed at the appointed day of meeting, and crowned on the following Sunday, in the High Church of Stockholm, by Archbishop Trollé, assisted by the other bishops. He then confirmed with fresh oaths all his promises, made at the surrender of the capital, and corroborated them by receiving the sacrament at the high altar. The Burgundian herald, who was there on behalf of the Emperor Charles the Fifth, Christian's brother-in-law, congratulated him in a Latin oration, and invested him with the order of the Golden Fleece.[3]

One or two circumstances took place at the ceremony to awaken the jealousy, if not the suspicion, of the Swedish nobles. Danes and foreigners only were chosen to bear the chief parts in the pageant, and to receive the honour of knighthood from the King's hand. The General Otto Krumpé bore the

[1] Olai Petri, pp. 344, 345.
[2] Tegel, 1520.
[3] Olai Petri, p. 345.

crown, Severin Norby the sceptre, Henry Gix the globe, General Peywick the sword. The two first, with Claus Billé and some other officers, were knighted. The King excused himself for not extending the same honour to the Swedes: "He had vindicated his right to the crown by force of arms: in this work the Swedes had given him no assistance. At another time, however, he hoped to show them the same grace that he had now manifested to the most distinguished of his Danish officers."[1]

Whatever disagreeable impressions might have been made by these proceedings the King endeavoured to efface by the courtesy and friendliness of his demeanour during the festivities which followed, and which lasted three days;[2] but in the midst of these he held a cabinet council, in which, after observing that the Swedes were jealous of their freedom, and that unless they were in time and completely subdued they would not long endure a strict government, he proposed to root out, as had been done in Norway, the distinguished families, and leave only a commonalty, which, without leaders, might be more easily brought to submission. He demanded of his councillors how this might be accomplished with the greatest effect and safety. Some suggested that a quarrel should be got up between the military and the townspeople, and that, in the

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1520; Olai Petri, p. 345.

[2] Instruit convivium pro regio luxu ipse se effingit ad omnem speciem comitatis et hilaritatis.—Christ. Hndi. attentata in Sueciam; Ziegler, vol. ii. p. 133.

confusion which would ensue, they should take off whom they pleased. But this was thought a hazardous scheme, and liable—as giving the citizens the right to arm—to be turned against its contrivers. Others suggested that gunpowder should be placed under the castle, and a charge of treason founded thereupon against the Swedish nobles.[1] Finally, however, the counsel of Didrik Slaghec, called after this, by a slight change of pronunciation, Slag-hök (Slaughter-hawk), prevailed. He was the King's confessor, a Westphalian by birth, and had been once what our ancestors would have called a barber's clerk, but what we should call a surgeon's assistant; and if we imagine a rank between the two, and an occupation uniting both mysteries, we shall have a tolerable idea of what had been his social position. He is said to have been related to the mother of Diverké, the King's deceased mistress, Sigbrit, to whom many of Christian's evil deeds were attributed, and who had known how to preserve, by her own talent, the influence first acquired by the grace and beauty of her daughter.[2]

Slaghec suggested that the King wielded two swords, the temporal and the spiritual; the first in his own right, the other on behalf of the Pope. The King might forgive offences against himself, but not those against the Holy See. His promise of oblivion for the past, therefore, was to be kept as far as he

[1] Scond. Illust., vol. iv. p. 87; Zeigler, p. 133.

[2] The Rimchronica represents Sigbrit as having once carried nuts and apples to market and kept a public-house in Bergen.

was personally concerned, but in his capacity of representative of the Church was not binding. Let him then bring the excommunication into play, and deal with all, who had taken part against Archbishop Trollé, as heretics.[1]

On the Wednesday after the coronation the Archbishop, by previous concert with the King, came forward in the hall of Stockholm Castle, where the guests were assembled, and, advancing to the throne, demanded that Stekeborg should be rebuilt, and the authors of his own and the ex-Archbishop's misfortunes punished. The accusation being pointed against Sten Sturé and his adherents, in justification of her husband Christina Gyllenstjerna produced the deed which solemnly deposed the Archbishop and decreed the destruction of Stekeborg. The King received it gladly, and at once resolved to treat all who had signed it as heretics. They were asked separately, whether they acknowledged their signatures, and, when they could not deny them, they were all taken into custody, with the exception of Otto Bishop of Vesterås, who had joined the Archbishop as accuser, and John Brask, Bishop of Linköping, who, having desired that his seal might be broken, and the words "I have been necessitated and compelled" having been found under it, was left at liberty.[2]

The prisoners were committed for the night to the

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1520; Scond. Illust., vol. iv. p. 87. The Pope (Leo X.) had ordered only the rebuilding of Stekeborg, compensation for damages, and a pecuniary fine.

[2] Olai Petri, p. 346; Laurentii Petri, p. 148.

tower, chapel, and other parts of the castle. In the mean time it was referred to a tribunal consisting of the Archbishop, the Bishop of Odensee, the Bishop of Linköping, and other ecclesiastics—among whom Lars Anderson, or Laurentius Andreœ, as he is often called, and Peter Gallé, will appear again in this history—to consider what was the crime involved in the things complained of, when they declared that the perpetrators "after the just law of Holy Church, the Emperor, and Sweden, were manifest heretics."[1]

It is said that the public executioners conveyed to the victims their death's doom. When they asked for the last consolations of religion, the boon was denied. On the morning of the execution, the 8th of November, the inhabitants of Stockholm were forbidden on pain of death to leave their houses before a signal to be given by sound of trumpet. The cannon on the castle were loaded, and others so placed as to command the principal streets. A heavy gloom and dark foreboding oppressed the minds of all the people. When the clock struck twelve, the trumpet sounded, and they were summoned to the great square or market-place of the city. The castle gates were soon after opened, the drawbridge lowered, and the unhappy prisoners brought forth. These were Mathias Bishop of Strengness, Vincentius Bishop of Skara, twelve secular nobles, most of them members of the State Council, including Eric Abrahamson (Lejonhufvud), Eric Johanson, the father,

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1520, where the judgment is given at length.

and Joachim Brahé, the brother-in-law of Gustavus, the burgomaster and town council of Stockholm, and many burgesses. A Danish knight, Nicholas Lycké, addressed the people, telling them not to be terrified at what they would witness, that the Archbishop had three times on bended knee besought the King that sentence of death might be executed on the culprits, and that he had at length yielded to his request; but Bishop Vincentius interrupted him, by exclaiming that not a word of truth had been uttered, that the King could do nothing without lies and deceit, and that he prayed God for vengeance on his tyranny.[1]

Christian, who beheld all this from a window of the old council-house, now gave a sign that the sentence should be carried into execution. Bishop Mathias was the first victim. He had taken with him to the coronation his chancellor, Olaus Petri, and Laurentius Petri his brother, who, as he stood with his hands raised up to Heaven awaiting the blow of the executioner, rushed forward to embrace him; but before they could reach the spot his head rolled upon the ground.

Horrified at the sight, they said this was inhuman work upon a noble and venerable man, when they were seized themselves, and would have been sacrificed had not a German who had studied with them at Wittemburg declared that they were not

[1] Ziegler, vol. ii. p. 133; Olai Petri, pp. 346, 347. The Archbishop, in fact, does not appear to have been privy to the plot, and incurred the King's sharp rebuke and some personal danger for not demanding the lives of those whom he accused.—*Ib.*

Swedes.[1] Bishop Vincentius was next beheaded, then the lay nobles, then the burgesses. Olaus Magnus, trembling all the while for his own life, saw ninety-four persons beheaded. Others were hanged or subjected to painful and horrible deaths. According to the account of Ziegler, a contemporary historian, one Johannes Magnus was crucified, with circumstances of the most revolting cruelty; but the story is too disgusting to be related, if not too horrible to be believed.[2]

The slaughter continued through the second and third days, because the general proclamation of peace and security continually enticed out fresh victims. Some were put to death because they could not refrain from tears at the sight of friends and neighbours so ruthlessly destroyed.[3] Some,—these chiefly the servants and retainers of the great nobles,—were dragged from their horses as they rode into the town, and hanged in such numbers that girths and stirrup-leathers must supply the lack of halters. The gutters ran red with blood, and the miserable survivors stepped over them with superstitious care, lest a stain upon their dress should seem to mark them out as the next sacrifice. For three days the bodies remained upon the market-place. They were then

[1] Celsius, vol. i. p. 94.

[2] Vertot, however, has not scrupled to give it in his own language. He calls Ziegler *oculatus testis*, but this does not appear on the face of the narrative, and he cites no authority. Geijer supposes Ziegler to have taken his account from others.

[3] Hvitfeldt, 1520.

carried out and burnt in the south suburb, on the site of the present church of St. Catherine. It was the proper funeral of heretics, and, that Sten Sturé might share it, his dead body and that of his infant child were torn from the grave, and cast upon the burning pile.[1]

While the massacre was still proceeding, Christian sent out a proclamation to the provinces, stating that, by the advice of the bishops, prelates, and other wise men, he had punished Sten Sturé's chief confederates, as heretics under the ban of the Church; but that he meant thenceforward to govern the country mildly and peaceably, after the law of St. Eric. The massacre extended even to Finland, where the grey hairs, advanced years, and recent services of Hemming Gadd were all ineffectual to save him—for the King was in the high character of the avenger of religion, and must not indulge his own feelings and private preferences. Vengeance must descend with stern impartiality upon friend and foe alike![2]

Among the victims were two children of the noble family of Ribbing; and the King's last exploit in Sweden, his "valete" to the people, as Laurentius Petri calls it, was the drowning of the abbot and some monks of the monastery of Nydala.[3]

[1] Laurentius Petri, p. 149.

[2] "Ut igitur religionis prætextu inauditam fucaret crudelitatem, zelum se habere pro Romanâ sede, cujus erat alioqui acerrimus hostis, impudentissime finxit."—Chron. Skibyense; Rer. Dan. Script., vol. ii. p. 569.

[3] Olai Petri, p. 348; Laurentius Petri, p. 149.

Thus were the oaths so often renewed, and hallowed by so many solemnities, cast to the winds and forgotten. But the vengeance of Heaven was already upon the track of the contriver and chief abettors of these wholesale murders, and the very means taken by the King to strengthen the foundations of his throne were the occasion of its overthrow.

CHAPTER III.

Gustavus leaves Stockholm — His wanderings and dangers in Dalecarlia — Elected Captain-General of the kingdom — His first victory — Proceedings of the Government — Their troops defeated — Gustavus declares war against Christian — Takes Vesterås — Siege of the citadel — Great accession to his army — Execution of Slaghec as adviser of the Bloodbath.

AFTER the Bloodbath—for that was the terrible name which the Swedes gave to the massacre at Stockholm—the neighbourhood of the capital was doubly insecure to Gustavus, and he resolved to go into Dalecarlia, where the independent character of the people and their attachment to the Sturés gave him good hope of a friendly reception. He left Raefness on horseback on the 26th November, 1520, accompanied by a single servant, who, as they were crossing Kolsund ferry, stole off with the saddle-bags, in which were his effects and money. He discovered the theft in time to give chase and recover the saddle-bags, but the rogue escaped into the forest. When he reached the frontier of Dalecarlia he exchanged his dress for a peasant's, and towards the end of the month arrived at the Coppermine, with his hair cut short, and in the jacket, breeches, and round hat which was the proper costume of a Dalesman.[1]

[1] Tegel, 1520. "This land of valleys is inhabited by a people, in number 133,895 individuals, who retain much of the ancient simplicity

Among his first employers was Anders Pehrson, of Rankhyttan, a rich miner, whom he served for a time unsuspected in different kinds of farm labour; but a maid-servant, happening one day to catch sight of a gold-embroidered collar beneath the jacket of the pretended peasant, communicated what she had seen to her master, who, looking attentively into the young man's face, recognised the features of a former schoolfellow at Upsala. The courage of Anders Pehrson was not equal to the risk of harbouring a refugee of such importance, and Gustavus was fain to leave Rankhyttan in search of another hiding-place. In attempting to cross from Vika to Torsanger, the ice at the ferry, which was frozen over, gave way with him, but in the end produced no worse effects than a wet skin and a night's delay at the hut of the ferryman. The next morning he proceeded to Orness, the abode of Arendt (Aaron) Pehrson, a nobleman who had served under him at Bränkyrka. To his brother in arms Gustavus did not scruple to discover himself, and was received with a soldierly frankness and hospitality that presented a gratifying contrast to the churlish caution of his late protector. Unfortunately, all this kindness was but a mask. Soon after Gustavus was

of manners, mode of living, and dress. The Dalecarle still thinks himself, as our High'anders do, of a superior caste, and adheres proudly to his white wadmal coat, his breeches with huge buttons and knee-buckles, his hose gartered below the knee, and his wife to her red stockings, high-heeled shoes, and yellow cap."—Laing's 'Observations in Sweden,' p. 221.

fairly lodged in the house, his host left it to take measures for his capture. The humanity of his hostess, a niece of Bishop Otto (Swinhufvud), saved him. Suspecting her lord's treachery, she warned her guest of his danger, provided him with a horse, sledge, and guide, and sent him away to Swedsjö parsonage. When Arendt Pehrson came back, with a band of soldiers and the King's lieutenant, Gustavus was beyond his reach.[1] He remained a week with the worthy pastor of Swedsjö, who, when he could protect him no longer, sent him secretly to Swen Elfson (or Nilson), a royal forester of great courage and presence of mind, living at Isala-by. Elfson's wife was no unworthy helpmate of such a husband. Some followers of the King's lieutenant came in search of her guest one day, as she was making bread, and he was warming himself at the oven. His look indicated some disquiet, and might have betrayed him, had she not given him a smart blow with the spoon with which she was stirring the bread, asked him, with an expression of impatience, if he had never seen soldiers before in all his life, and sent him sharply off to his duties in the barn.

When he was obliged at length to shift again his quarters—the neighbourhood being beset with Danes—Elfson hid him under some straw in his light waggon. Some Danish troopers, coming up with

[1] Tegel, 1520. In 1688 Charles the Eleventh ordered a sum to be set aside for the maintenance of the barn in which Gustavus threshed at Rankhyttan, as a national monument.—Celsius, vol. i. p. 102.

them as they journeyed, in lieu of a more formal search, thrust their spears into the straw and wounded Gustavus. The blood began to trickle down on the snow, and would have infallibly discovered his hiding-place, had not the forester, by giving his horse unobservedly a gash in the leg, diverted attention from the point whence the stream had issued.[1]

Having eluded the troopers by the dexterity of his quick-witted guide, Gustavus arrived safe at Marness. Here for three days he lay concealed under a large uprooted fir-tree, supplied with food by the peasants. From thence he went farther up into the forest, took up his abode on a hill, still called the King's Hill, surrounded by a morass, and again found a hiding-place for some time under an old fir-tree. On the green before the church at Rättvik, his next retreat, he first, and not with much success, publicly addressed the Dalesmen. At Mora, the largest and most populous parish in the Dales, he addressed them again, described the massacre, touched with feeling upon his own share in that calamity, and offered himself to be their leader to avenge the blood which had been spilled, and "to teach the tyrant that Swedes must be ruled by law, not ground down by cruelty."[2] His address did not make the impression he had expected. Some, in-

[1] Celsius, vol. i. p. 106. Gustavus the Third in 1684 erected a monument in porphyry, with an inscription beginning, "Here threshed Gustavus Erikson." The barn still belonged to the descendants of Swen Elfson in 1834.—Geijer, vol. ii. p. 16.

[2] Peter Brahé, Hist. Gust., apud Celsium, p. 110.

deed, were for arming straightway, but others advised him to consult his own safety and go farther into the woods. Much discouraged by this advice, he crossed, at the end of the year, the boundary which separates the eastern and western Dales, intending to go into Norway. But brighter days were at hand. Soon after he left Mora a party of 100 Swedes in the Danish interest, who had come thither to capture him, were surrounded by a large armed multitude of Dalesmen, besieged in the parsonage and church-tower—where they had sought refuge, and which long after bore marks of the Dalesmen's arrows—and released only upon their solemn promise to offer no injury to Gustavus. These symptoms of awakened spirit were increased with the new year, which brought a confirmation of the barbarities at Stockholm, and the rumour of fresh enormities and fresh burdens meditated by Christian. Neither rack nor gibbet were to be spared; the peasantry were to be disarmed and stripped in order to pay the mercenaries in the King's service. The Dalesmen now regretted that they had allowed Gustavus, the only man (as their informant told them) able to liberate the country, to go away. A messenger was sent after the fugitive, and happily came up with him just as he was about to cross the hills to Norway.[1]

Upon his return to Mora he was elected by the chief peasants of the eastern and western Dales Captain-General of the kingdom. Sixteen active

[1] Tegel, 1520; Hvitfeldt, 1520; Geijer, vol. ii. pp. 18, 19.

young men were appointed to be his life-guard, and two hundred more attached especially to his personal service.[1]

Thus ended the time of shifts, disguises, and humiliations; but the scenes of these, the barns where he threshed, the places where he lay concealed, the different spots where he was in the greatest peril, are still pointed out with veneration by the descendants of those, who succoured him in his adversity, and boasted that they were the first to help him to his crown. It was during this period that a Dane, who had served under Sturé and now devoted himself to the fortunes of his kinsman, attacked the under-lieutenant of Vesterås, one of Gustavus's most formidable pursuers, and put him to death.[2]

In the beginning of February, 1521, the new Captain-General marched to the Copper-mine, took the Provost prisoner, seized upon all the King's and Danish property in the place, and imposed upon the inhabitants a yearly tribute and tithe of corn. Out of the silks taken from the shops, banners were made for the patriot army.[3] The gold and silver were set apart for their pay, and the provisions shared among them. Gustavus returned to the same place soon after, at the head of 1500 Dalesmen, when the Bergsmen also joined him. The Helsinglanders—

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1520; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 20.
[2] Tegel, 1520.
[3] Hvitfeldt, 1521; Scond. Illust., vol. v. p. 1.

between whom and the Bergsmen and Dalesmen there had always been a friendly alliance,—though invited to unite with them, kept aloof, thinking Gustavus had undertaken more than he could accomplish. In Gestrickland his solicitations met with more success. The inhabitants generally, and the town of Geflé particularly, promised him their support. Here too several of the refugees from Stockholm, Peter Fredag, Jöns Warg, and others, enrolled themselves under his banner. On his hasty return from Gestrickland, occasioned by a false report that his troops, left under the command of his generals, had been defeated, he heard the joyful news of his first victory.[1]

After the King's departure the government was conducted by Didrik Slaghec, and J. Baldenacké, the son of a shoemaker, who by his capacity and diligence had worked his way to distinction; and by such of the State Council as the executioner's sword had spared, and were not ashamed to be associated with names of so much infamy. Slaghec and Baldenacké had been rewarded for their services in the massacre by the bishopsrics of Skara and Strengness, which they had helped to make vacant.

The burgomasters of Stockholm seconded the zeal of the supreme government in the King's cause. The city was more strongly fortified, vessels fitted out on pretence of "preventing the escape of Gustavus Erikson and the partners of his crime;" but really to

[1] Tegel, 1521; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 21.

keep open the navigation, which had been impeded since the fishermen and peasants of the islands in the port of Stockholm had taken arms on the popular side. Warning proclamations were sent off to the Dales, signed by Gustaf and Eric Trollé and Knut Bengston, as the State Council. But they missed their aim, for the Dalesmen observed that the Council must be at a low ebb indeed if it consisted of only three members, and they of no great worth.[1] These missives, however, were only the precursors to something more alarming. Six thousand men marched to the Dales under Gustavus Trollé, Slaghec, and Baldenacké, and posted themselves on this side the river (Dalelfven) at Brunbeck-ferry. On the other side of the stream the Dalesmen guarded their frontier under Peter Swenson, a Dalesman of influence, whom Gustavus at his departure had left in command. Peter Brahé relates that the retreat of the Danish army was occasioned by a speech of Baldenacké, when he found out that those with whom they were about to grapple were accustomed to drink water, and, in case of necessity, to eat bark bread.[2] "A people," said he, "who can live upon wood and water the Devil himself could not conquer, much less any other. Let us go hence." The truth, however,

[1] Tegel, 1521; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 23.

[2] "The bark-bread is made of the inner rind of the birch-tree, which is perfectly white, and when mixed with rye-meal is not unpleasant to the taste, but it is not considered nutritious, and affects the bowels when made use of for a long period."—Northern Field Sports, vol. i. p. 60.

appears to be, either that Swenson by a stolen march crossed the river at Utsundford, took the Danish army by surprise and put it to flight, or that, the latter having resolved to retreat, because they found themselves outnumbered, Swenson by this manœuvre turned the retreat into a rout.[1]

Gustavus, having by his successful negotiations in Gestrickland secured friends in his rear, prepared to advance into the country. He collected and drilled his recruits at Hedemora, taught the Dalesmen, who had as yet no fire-arms, and knew little of the art of war, to make their arrows after a better fashion, and to lengthen their spears, that they might cope more effectually with cavalry. At the same place he established a mint, and issued a coinage consisting of copper with a small admixture of silver, of the same current value as the pieces contemptuously called Christian's *Klippingar*. The device on one side was an armed man, on the other two Dale arrows.[2] As he passed over Longheden into Vestmanland, the people everywhere flocked to his standard; and when, on St. George's day, the 23rd of April, he reviewed and brigaded his army, it was 15,000 strong.[3]

It was now that Gustavus published his declaration of war against Christian. The declaration set forth these chief points:—1. That Christian was not

[1] Tegel (1521) says that the retreat was determined by the superior number of the insurgents. He notices, however, the Count's story.

[2] Tegel, 1521; Celsius, vol. i. p. 117.

[3] So says Tegel, but Messenius and others 5000 only. Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 2.

lawfully king—his election and coronation having been accomplished by underhand practices and the presence of a Danish army. 2. That, if even he had been lawfully elected, not having himself kept his coronation oaths, his subjects were absolved from their oaths of allegiance. 3. Much more was he, Gustavus Erickson, who had never sworn him allegiance, free to disobey him, and combine with all other good Swedes in avenging the blood which he had spilt, and which still cried out for vengeance.[1]

Three days before his attack upon Vesterås, which was his next enterprise, he had the mortification to hear that a party of Bergsmen, whom he expected as a reinforcement, had been cut to pieces. Peter Ugla, the leader of the party—having discovered that Anders Pehrson, the Danish commandant at Örebro, had been tampering with his troops—went in pursuit of him as far as Köping. Here he gave up the chase, and, fancying himself secure, drank till he became intoxicated, an example followed by most of his soldiers. Pehrson, having ascertained the state of his pursuers, proceeded to Vesterås, and returned in the dead of the night with 3000 men, furnished him from that city. He found Ugla and his party sleeping by their watch-fires, heavy with drink and the exertions of the day before; and falling upon them in that condition, destroyed almost all. As a stratagem of war the deed was, it may be, fair and honourable, and the perpetrator obtained afterwards

[1] Celsius, vol. i. p. 122.

from Gustavus pardon and a letter of protection. But the simple Bergsmen took it much to heart that Pehrson should have fallen upon their kinsmen asleep and defenceless; accordingly for six long years they nursed their vengeance, and, when at last a fit opportunity presented itself, they wreaked it on the unhappy commandant by putting him to death.[1]

Didrik Slaghec was now in command at Vesterås. Henry von Mehlen, the late commandant, having gone away, had left as his substitute one Fynboo, who refused Slaghec the admission he had personally demanded. From whatever motive the refusal originated, Slaghec was greatly incensed at it, brought against the city a force too formidable to be resisted, and, when the gates were opened, hanged or decapitated all who had opposed his entrance. He prepared for the defence of the place with energy. His cavalry was the arm which he thought would be most formidable against a peasant force, and, that this might act with greater effect against it, he levelled all the enclosures in the neighbourhood.[2]

On the 29th of April Gustavus's advanced guard passed over the ridge of Balung, to encamp at St. Oloff's chapel. They had strict orders not to advance against the enemy that day; but when they saw the latter coming out to attack them with their cavalry, "like hungry wolves" (as Tegel expresses it), it was too much for the forbearance of young levies. They rushed forward to meet them, repulsed

[1] Tegel, 1521. [2] Ibid.; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 26.

their charge with their long spears, and then pursued them with darts and arrows, until 400 men and horses were stretched on the ground. When Gustavus found that his front was engaged with the enemy, he pressed into the midst of the danger and had several of his officers killed by his side. In the mean time one of his generals, Lars Erickson, had reached the town by a byway, and, making straight for the market-place, captured the field artillery posted there and a quantity of ammunition. The garrison of the citadel now fired upon the houses, which, with the roof and tower of the cathedral, were for the most part ruined, though the patriots endeavoured to extinguish the flames. The defenders were in complete bewilderment. Some rode into the water up to their necks, some plunged in headlong, while others, throwing away their weapons, burst into the monastery, and prayed the monks to give them absolution and comfort for their souls. On the other hand, a good many of the victors gave themselves up to pillage and riot. They spoiled the shops of their merchandise, and, having seized a quantity of wine, took it to the Council-house, where they began drinking and singing. The Danish party, reinforced from the castle, were not slow to observe and profit by this disorder; and the fortune of the day would probably have been reversed had not Gustavus sent Lars Olofson with the reserve into the town, where, after a fresh conflict, the enemy was completely routed. The remnant again took refuge in the

monastery, where they remained till Whitsuntide, and then, having reinforced the citadel with a part of their number, proceeded to Stockholm. When the contest was over, Gustavus with his own hands struck the hoops from the wine and mead casks, saying (according to some accounts) that he would rather see the streets stream with liquor than with the blood of his soldiers.[1]

If, while the citadel remained in the hands of the enemy, the success at Vesterås was inconsiderable in itself, it was far from being so in its consequences. The moral effect of the victory was of the most essential service to the patriotic cause. Wherever the news came it determined the doubtful, and such numbers now joined Gustavus that he could afford to divide his forces and prosecute several sieges at once. Arvid Vestgöthe (the Westgothlander) was therefore sent to besiege Stekeborg and take East Gothland. Linköping and Örebro were invested at the same time, and Lars Ericksón was detached to attack Upsala, a city where the old Kings of Sweden had held their court, but which had never been fortified.[2]

The siege of the citadel of Vesterås was continued by some of the peasants of Vestmanland and Södermanland, but Didrik Slaghec resigned the defence into other hands, and, the patriots still continuing to gain ground, went over to Denmark in the autumn in search either of safety or succour. As he appears

[1] Tegel, 1521; Bruzelii, Hist. 238.

[2] Hvitfeldt, 1521; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 27.

no more conspicuously in Sweden, we will now follow him to the end of his miserable career. Slaghec carried with him to Denmark Christina Gyllenstjerna, Gustavus's mother and sisters, and other distinguished ladies among the state prisoners. Soon after his arrival he received a fresh proof of his master's favour, having been made by him Archbishop of Lund, in spite of the reluctance and remonstrances of the Chapter.[1] But he was not destined to glory long in his elevation.

On the first news of the massacre at Stockholm, Johannes Magnus, Canon of Linköping and afterwards Archbishop of Upsala, had hastened to Rome to demand vengeance against Christian. The execution of two prelates added so much weight to that crime in the eyes of the pontiff, that, though unwilling to strike the King, on account of his connexion with the Emperor, he could not refuse inquiry. J. F. de Potentia, a Neapolitan monk, was despatched for the purpose, but with secret orders to view the matter in as favourable a light as possible for the accused; while Christian, conscious of his danger, and willing to save himself at all events, resolved to sacrifice the Archbishop, that he might be in some sort personally exculpated.[2]

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1521.; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 6; Hist. de Dannemarc, vol. vi. p. 506. His predecessor in the archbishopric was George, a Schotborg, whom the King compelled to resign and retire to a cloister, from whence, however, he escaped, and died in banishment at Cologne, 1551.—Holberg, vol. ii. p. 100.

[2] Mallet, Histoire de Dannemarc, vol. vi. p. 506; Scondia Illust., tom. v. p. 6.

Slaghec had been only two months in possession of his high dignity when he was summoned to Copenhagen to answer the charge of having been the adviser of the Bloodbath. The charge was readily proved: he was found guilty and sentenced to death.[1]

On the 24th of January, 1522, the sentence was carried into effect. The King had left Copenhagen and given orders that the execution should take place during his absence. The scene of it was the old market-place or square of the city. The windows of Sigbrit commanded the spot, but she kept her blinds closed that day and would not look upon the horrid spectacle. A gallows was erected and a pile of faggots heaped up near the Council-house, and hither the wretched man, richly and showily dressed, was conducted. When he came near the gibbet the executioner forced him up one or two steps of the ladder, then brought him down again, and led him to the blazing pile, where, unpitied, if any who ever underwent that dreadful sentence could fail to move pity, he was burnt alive.[2]

It is said that Baldenacké, who was himself afterwards deposed from his bishopric and imprisoned in the Hammershus at Borringholm, prophesied to

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1522. But the Chron. Skibyense says he was executed "absque publicâ juris sententiâ."

[2] "Quo supplicio utinam omnes pereant, qui Principum animos, non nisi optimis rationibus imbuendos, corrumpunt atque pessimis consiliis labefactant."—Chron. Skibyense; Rer. Dan. Scrip., vol. ii. p. 570.

Slaghec in the height of his prosperity his coming fate. It needed not, however, more than common discernment to perceive upon how treacherous a foundation that prosperity depended, nor to predict that the tyrant himself would probably be the sword used to punish his accomplice.

As they led him to the place of execution the Secretary, Jaspar Brockman, met him on the high bridge that led from the castle, when the unhappy prisoner exclaimed in Latin, "Farewell, Master Jaspar; this is the reward of all my labours." But the Secretary answered quickly, "Not so, not so; it is the *punishment* of thy *crime!*"[1]

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1522. "Vale! magister Caspare! hæc sunt præmia laborum nostrorum." Jasper answered, "Non non, pœna peccati, pœna peccati."

CHAPTER IV.

Attack on Upsala — Capture of the Archbishop's palace — Gustavus retreats — Pursues the Archbishop to Stockholm — Brask, Bishop of Linköping, joins the patriots — The crown rejected by Gustavus, who is elected Regent — Guerilla war — Siege of Stockholm — The Archbishop leaves Sweden — Christian orders another massacre — Execution of Thomas, the chief perpetrator — Inefficient assistance from Lubeck — The capital submits — Dethronement of Christian — Gustavus elected King of Sweden.

GUSTAVUS—in his speech at the celebrated Diet of Vesterås in 1527—dated the beginning of the liberation from the victory gained in that city five years before. He stated at the same time that it was only the beginning. Much had yet to be accomplished before the enemy was completely subdued and driven from the kingdom; but the Dalesmen, who (as the King complained) took to themselves the whole credit of that achievement, for the most part went home, after the success at Vesterås, to sow their spring corn, and attend to the other requirements of their farms at that season. To supply their places, Gustavus summoned the peasants from the different parts of Upland to assemble at Rymningen forest near Öresunds-bro; and it was while awaiting his arrival at this point that his generals made their attack upon Upsala, where the Bishop's palace was the object especially aimed at.

Some intimation of the intended attack had been given, and disregarded. For the generals had replied to a deputation from the city, praying that they would not interfere with the usual procession on St. Eric's day—"that Swedes, not foreigners, ought to bear the shrine of St. Eric on his festival, and that they meant to be there." The spies, sent out by the Archbishop's provost to ascertain the strength of the insurgents, had been captured, but he consoled himself for the want of their report by the idea that his 100 horse and three regiments of infantry would be a match for all the peasants, who could be brought against them. To show his contempt the more decidedly, he held a fête on the planted space (trägården) between the great and little palace, where his soldiers indulged in song and revelry till a late hour. It was two in the morning when the patriots arrived, and they had cut down the watch posted before St. George's chapel, destroyed the defences which protected the entrance of the palace, and already made a breach in the door, before the revellers awoke.[1]

After an ineffectual attempt to repel their besiegers, some of the Bishop's soldiers attempted to escape, or, according to other accounts, to take the enemy in the rear, by means of a wooden covered way which communicated with the cathedral. This design was defeated by the patriots setting fire to the outlet. The Provost, on his side, having first fired

[1] Tegel, 1521; Hvitfeldt, 1521.

the town, mounted his horse and with a party of his followers endeavoured to escape by Flotésund. In this attempt he was shot by an arrow, which passing up from the hand to the elbow remained in the wound. He continued his journey to Stockholm notwithstanding; but when the Archbishop's surgeon extracted the arrow, he died under the operation.[1]

At Whitsuntide Gustavus himself came to Upsala, and, having required of the Chapter now to choose their party, they asked leave to consult their diocesan. This being granted, one of their body was sent to Stockholm with a despatch from themselves and another from Gustavus. When the Archbishop opened the latter, which urged him to come over to the popular side, he said jeeringly to Henry Slaghec, Didrik's brother, who was present, that he would bring his own answer, and immediately ordered a detachment of 500 German horse and 3000 infantry to accompany him to Upsala.[2] The sanguine temper of Gustavus, which had supported him hitherto, and was still to carry him through so many trials, had now nearly proved his ruin. He seems to have made up his mind that his appeal would be successful. His messenger not returning awakened no suspicion. Nay, when a deserter from the Archbishop rode forward and warned him of his danger, his story could not obtain credit. Convinced at last of the truth, he rode to the hill, on which he afterwards built the present palace, to ascertain the force

[1] Tegel, 1521; Celsius, vol. i. p. 128. [2] Tegel, 1521.

of the enemy. He had with him at the time only 600, others say only 200, foot and about 100 horsemen, and, finding himself so greatly outnumbered, was compelled to fly. At Lädebyford 200 horse despatched by Trollé in pursuit came up, just as his page, a young Finnish nobleman, had ridden against him and overthrown both horse and rider into the stream. His gallant infantry, however, saved their leader. They attacked the enemy so vigorously with their arrows and other missiles that seventy of them were stretched upon the field and the rest put to flight.[1]

Gustavus, after he had led his party to Rymningen forest, prepared an ambush for the Archbishop on his return to the capital; and though the snare was eluded by the sagacity of an attendant, who had ridden forward and seen the remains of a newly-slaughtered ox near the road where the party had meant to pass, the prelate was still in great peril. The Swedes were soon upon his traces, and it was only by stooping to his horse's neck that he avoided the spear of Lars Oloffson, which ran into the body of a nobleman who was riding by his side. Of the force which he took with him on this expedition a sixth part barely, it is said, reached Stockholm again. Gustavus followed, and pitched his camp at Brunkeberg. A sally from the city, however, soon dislodging him from that position, he retired to Rötebro.[2]

[1] Tegel, 1521; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 29.
[2] Hvitfeldt, 1521; Tegel, 1521.

One of the good fruits of this summer was the accession of Brask, Bishop of Linköping, to the popular party. Arvid Vestgöthe, during his campaign in that district, had proposed to make short work with the Bishop, who was halting between two opinions. But Gustavus would not have recourse to violence till other means should have proved ineffectual. He wrote to the Bishop, therefore, reminding him of his narrow escape at the massacre. "He had not only then witnessed the murderous work of the tyrant, but had himself bent beneath the sword of the executioner. A mere accident had saved his life. He should now show that Heaven had spared him to serve his country. The affair concerned them both. The enterprise had already been happily begun, it rested with the Bishop to bring it to a good conclusion." Gustavus's presence in the vicinity of Munkeboda, the Bishop's castle, at the head of a considerable force, no doubt added weight to his persuasions. A meeting took place between himself and the Bishop at Skärkind parsonage, when the latter agreed to lend his aid to the liberation of the kingdom.[1]

On the 24th of August, 1521, a States-day, at which were present sixty nobles and many others of all ranks, took place at Vadstena. Gustavus, addressing the Assembly, said that they had only one of two courses to follow. "If they were content to be for ever slaves to the Dane, and to abandon their pos-

[1] Tegel, 1521.

sessions to the avarice of a greedy neighbour; if they had the hearts to see the remaining flower of their nobility cut off, and could endure that Sweden, which had not only supported its own independence, but given the law to other lands, should degenerate into a Danish province—then indeed they had only to sit down quietly and watch the footsteps of the tyrant. But if they loved freedom, if they would avenge the innocent blood, which had run so piteously in their streets, if their houses and possessions were dear to them, if they would prove themselves worthy sons of their renowned fathers, and rather judge of other nations' misery than give an example of their own—then they would take the sword, and not let it sleep until they had dethroned the tyrant, and recovered the crown which he had wrested from their hands. Circumstances were most favourable to their enterprise. Christian was hated by his own people, and required all his attention to secure himself in his hereditary kingdom. He (Gustavus), with the help of the Dalesmen, had already subdued a large portion of the realm, and the chief fortresses were now all so hard beset that they could not offer a long resistance. The victory would soon be complete, if they would only combine their counsels and unite their strength."[1]

To this address the States replied by offering him the Crown which Christian had forfeited. "That was the only way," they said, "to repay him for his

[1] Tegel, 1521; Westenhjelm, Hist. Gust. apud Celsium, vol. i. p. 145.

great services and to save the kingdom." But Gustavus's ambition was neither shortsighted nor of a vulgar cast. The game was evidently in his own hands, and a show of moderation at the present moment would enable him hereafter both to win it with a more hearty and general consent, and to use the fruits of it more to the public advantage. He replied that "he had taken arms from zeal and compassion for the people, and with no selfish view. The name of King had already, through the abuse of it, begun to have a hateful sound. To serve his country was a sufficient reward for him. They should unite their strength, and first place themselves in a condition to choose freely a native Swedish king. Then, whomsoever they might deem fit for the honour, to him he would show all loyalty and obedience."[1]

The Regency, to which he was actually elected, was an office with very different powers from those it had possessed under Engelbrect and the Sturés, when there was a powerful nobility to rival and restrain it: it was a monarchy in almost all but the name.

Fortified by his new authority, the Regent pressed on his military operations, with as much haste and effect as his want of an efficient artillery and a regular army permitted. No battles on a large scale, or which present much to arrest the attention of a great commander, mark the progress of his arms: but they are not without those romantic traits of daring and ingenuity which are always more or less interesting

[1] Celsius, vol. i. p. 145.

to the unlearned, to whom the splendid combinations of military genius are often unintelligible. The castle of Åbo, in Finland, was attacked by General Arvidson on the 26th of November, but without success, and the commandant, a Danish nobleman named Thomas, a fit agent of the master whom he served, hung the next day from the walls of the castle three of the general's brothers and some other Swedes, who had been captured in the city. A guerilla warfare against the Danes, conducted by Nils Månson Krabbé, savagely avenged this and other acts of cruelty. Krabbé used to creep along the coast at night, accompanied by ten or at most sixteen armed companions, land at spots where he knew the Danes were located, barricade their houses, and then set fire to them; "awaking the inmates," says Tegel, "with a sorrowful dream." When at daybreak a pursuit was attempted, he ran, in the light vessels which he made use of, under Reflé or some other place of security, but upon the smallest opening was back again to continue his petty but most harassing and destructive warfare; so that at last Krabbé with his handful of men was more dreaded than all Arvidson's army.[1]

In the mean time the siege of Stockholm continued, but the want of a fleet on the part of Gustavus gave the besieged breathing room towards the sea, and a channel by which they were supplied with provisions. On Christmas Eve the garrison, to the

[1] Tegel, 1521; Celsius, vol. i. p. 149.

number of 1500, in 40 boats, sallied out to surprise and attack Peter Fredag's force, stationed at Löfön. Fredag, who had been informed of the meditated attack, prepared to meet it by a stratagem, of which Gideon probably furnished the idea.[1] Choosing sixteen young men from his division, he gave each of them a bugle-horn, and placed them here and there around the hill, with instructions to repeat exactly the signal they heard sounded at his quarters. When the enemy had landed, and were making their way as well as they could in the darkness, whispering that they meant to pass their Christmas in Fredag's tent, he sounded a charge upon his bugle, which was taken up by the trumpeters, one after another, at their different stations. The Danes, unacquainted with the ground, and imagining that the wood was filled with soldiers, took the alarm, and, when Fredag attacked them with a force of only 400 men, he slew 200 on the spot, and drove the rest to their boats, where many more, in the confusion and struggle to get on board, perished.[2]

In the month of December, 1521, and the following January, the fortresses of Stekeborg, Nyköping, and Vesterås surrendered to the Regent. General Arvid Vestgöthe, having put a Swedish garrison into the first, still lay before the place in order to deceive Norby, who was hourly expected with provisions and reinforcements. The stratagem succeeded. Norby, unconscious of the surrender, approached the fortress

[1] Judges vii. 15. [2] Tegel, 1521; Celsius, vol. i. p. 151.

incautiously, was suddenly attacked by the Swedes, and lost 600 men.[1] Thirty only fell on the side of Gustavus. At the surrender of Nyköping his sister, Joachim Brahé's widow, Margaret Vasa, who had been detained there in rigorous captivity, was released.

The Archbishop had now left the kingdom.[2] Before bidding it a final farewell he had endeavoured to come to terms with Gustavus, still reserving his truth and allegiance to Christian. Gustavus's answer, though addressing the Archbishop in the usual terms of courtesy, spoke confidence in the strength of his cause. He advised him to abandon the King—"who was unable, hampered as he was with his own difficulties, to help his partisans—and to prefer living a noble in Sweden rather than a serf in Denmark. He (Gustavus) promised to pardon all the past. The Archbishop might depend upon this promise: it was not like other promises with which their age was familiar."[3] We may judge that this was a strain not very agreeable to the pride of Gustavus Trollé, but a rejoinder of the same sort as that carried to Upsala was now out of the question. He was compelled to bide his time.

When, early in 1522, Severin Norby, after an

[1] Tegel, 1522.

[2] He accompanied Siaghec and Baldenacké in their flight in October; driven away by fear, says Messenius; for the purpose of asking forces to quell the insurrection, according to Hvitfeldt, 1521.—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 6.

[3] Celsius, vol. i. p. 154.

engagement in which the besiegers were sorely worsted, supplied Stockholm with provisions for the summer, the garrison was reduced by famine to 500. Without the walls of the citadel there was a ruined and empty town. The townspeople for the most part had fled, or were shut up in the castle; so that the houses, which were not burnt down, were well nigh without inhabitants. After the relief, the secretary, Erickson, wrote to the King, "that of the burghers only 18, and those mostly Germans, could be depended on, but that there were 850 soldiers and archers now well provided with everything; that the peasants, though tired of the war, feared still more the King's vengeance, and gave no credit to his assurances, so that the country could be brought to subjection only by force. If a sufficient army were sent there, Upland, &c., would submit, and his Majesty could punish the Bergsmen and Dalesmen who had led the way in the rebellion."[1]

This was advice which Christian would have been glad to follow, but fortunately could not. He, however, obeyed the call for fresh severities, as far as he was able, by giving orders to his commandants in Sweden for another massacre. Thomas, the commandant at Åbo, carried these cruel instructions out with so much fidelity that, as some report, he beheaded his own secretary, whom he liked, and who had been faithful to his interests, because he was a Swede. The brave Norby had (it is said) received

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1522; Celsius, vol. i. p. 158; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 33.

similar instructions the year before, but had made no secret of disobeying them.[1] A few months only elapsed, and Thomas himself fell into the hands of his enemies. He had sailed from Finland to relieve the capital, and, when he drew nigh, had sent out a boat to make observations. The boat and crew fell into the hands of the Swedish Admiral, Fleming, who, having stripped the latter of their uniform, and equipped in it his own sailors, sent them in turn to reconnoitre the force of the Dane. Thomas, seeing the boat approaching, and anxious to hear the result of his mission, got into another boat and rowed to meet it. On coming up he jumped on board, and then first discovered the snare into which he had fallen. His boat's crew was quickly overpowered and himself carried to Tynnelsö, where, by command of Gustavus, he was hanged on an oak with a rope made of the fibres of the lime-tree.[2]

An attack upon Stockholm, earlier in the year, conducted by Staffan Sassé—a Holsteiner, who in 1521 entered into the service of the Regent with 60 Germans—Peter Fredag, and Knut Bengston, was rendered hopeless through the dissensions of the leaders. They were repulsed by the reinforced garrison with great loss.[3]

Gustavus now sent his secretary to Lubeck to crave assistance. The result was that 10 ships, under Admiral Brun, and 900 infantry, under General

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 33; Celsius, vol. i. p. 159.
[2] Tegel, 1522. [3] Celsius, vol. i. p. 161.

Stammels, were sent to Stockholm, and appeared off Söderkoping on Whitsunday; eight ships were afterwards added to this force. It is said that secret orders were given not to employ it too effectually. It is certain that the co-operation given was very feeble, and that when Norby, in a second attempt to relieve Stockholm in the month of October, had become entangled in the ice, the Lubeck commanders refused to join in an attack which under the circumstances would have annihilated him. On another occasion — Norby having been driven by a storm under an island, and so close to it that the Swedes did him much damage even by flinging large stones on board his vessels—the Lubeckers refused Gustavus himself two pieces of cannon to fire upon the Danish Admiral, though he offered to mortgage two of his best fortresses as a security for the loan of them. Norby in consequence made his escape, and sailed to Calmar Sound.[1]

The Germans, when they first landed, refused to swear the military oath of fidelity until, after a personal interview with Gustavus, they were satisfied that he was worthy of their confidence. This feeling —if it were originally entertained on the King's side —did not long continue mutual, and when he determined to press more closely the siege of Stockholm he withdrew his German troops and distributed them inland in different parts of the country.[2]

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1522; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 8; Celsius, vol. i. p. 164.
[2] Celsius, vol. i. p. 164.

The city then scarcely extended beyond the little island which is now especially called by that name. Gustavus moved nearer to it the three divisions of his army, which were engaged in the blockade, and kept up his communications throughout the whole circuit by floating bridges, uniting Kungsholmen with Långholmen, and, again, the Södermalm (south suburb) with Djurgården (the King's park), then called Waldemar's island. The harbour was further protected by wooden forts and chain-cables.[1] During this blockade Peter Fredag again distinguished himself by repelling a sally of the garrison, but the blockade itself was continued through the winter, until famine, combined with the intelligence of Christian's fall, brought the besieged, on the 21st of June, 1523, to submission.

The tyrant, when he left Sweden after the massacre, had gone to the Netherlands to obtain the balance of his Queen's dowry, and the assistance of the Emperor in his war with his uncle, Duke Frederic of Holstein, and the Hanse Towns. On his return he was met with the news of the insurrection in Sweden, and was so enraged (it is said) by the receipt of the despatch from Secretary Erickson that he hung the messengers by torchlight.[2] We have already seen how he attempted to escape the odium of the massacre by throwing the blame on Slaghec, but in vain—the share of each in that ever memor-

[1] Tegel, 1523; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 85; Celsius, vol. i. p. 174.

[2] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 5, compared with Celsius.

able atrocity was well understood; Slaghec's share being that of suggesting the most plausible pretext for doing what the King was resolved to do in some way or other. The possibility that some similar atrocity was meditated filled the minds of the Danish nobility with gloom and misgivings. Some tokens of an attempt to restrain their privileges, and to court the commons, had already appeared. Moreover, the state of the prelates had been curtailed, and an archbishop forbidden to travel with more than thirty, a bishop with more than ten followers.[1] Powerful enemies were thus raised in the centre of the King's dominions; and how serious was the disaffection soon appeared, when at a States meeting called by him at Callundborg castle, to consult concerning the revolt in Sweden, the war with Lubeck, &c., the chief nobles did not appear, and insulted him by pleading the weather and contrary winds as an excuse for their absence.[2] He appointed notwithstanding another States-day in Aarhus, for the beginning of the following year; but it was whispered abroad that Sigbrit had suggested counsels fatal to the nobility—that the King was to be accompanied at that meeting by dis-

[1] Scondia Illust., tom. v. p. 9. Some of his measures were excellent in themselves, for instance—that which forbade the nobles to sell their serfs and "traffic in the persons of Christians as if they were brute-beasts." The law also which gave the serf permission to run away, if ill-treated, tended to secure him tolerable usage.—Hist. de Dannemarc, vol. vi. p. 557.

[2] The report was, that the King intended to extort from them an annual grant of two florins per head for each of their peasants, and a third part of the revenues of the Church.—Holberg, vol. ii. p. 117.

guised assassins—and that the massacre of Stockholm was to be repeated there. The nobles in consequence retired to Viborg on the 20th January, 1523, and drew up a deed, in which they renounced their allegiance to Christian, and chose Frederic Duke of Holstein to fill the vacant throne.[1]

Magnus Munk, Lagman of Jutland, undertook to convey the perilous document. He met the King on his way to Aarhus, assumed an open and cheerful countenance, and being invited to dinner contrived to keep him amused and to divert all suspicion till he retired to rest, when, placing the despatch into one of his gloves, he left it on the table, went quietly out, and escaped by a boat which he had kept in readiness. A page, who found the despatch the next morning, carried it to the King.[2]

Christian's courage fell at the receipt of this unexpected paper. He wrote to those who had subscribed it, saying, "that he submitted himself to the Emperor and other disinterested Princes as his judges. As to the massacre at Stockholm, he would atone for it; he would fill the country with churches and monasteries, and undergo any penance which the Pope might impose. The Council and States should have from him fresh securities, if only they would retract

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1523; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 10. Holberg, vol. ii. p. 117.

[2] Holberg, vol. ii. p. 118. Munk, who was at the head of the conspiracy, had the honour of bearing the sceptre at the coronation of Christian the Third, A.D. 1537.—De Coronatione Christ. Tertii; Rer. Dan. Script., vol. viii. p. 503.

their step, and turn from him the dishonour they had meditated." The nobles replied that they acknowledged no tribunal superior to their own; that the King had perjured himself so often that they could not trust him; that he had confessed himself guilty, and the deeds by which he had freed them from their allegiance were known to all the world; they had chosen the Duke of Holstein as his successor. Finding his nobles inflexible, Christian chose twenty of his best and fastest sailing ships, placed on board the state-papers, all the gold and silver which had for ages been accumulating in the public buildings, together with his Queen, his son, his two daughters, and Sigbrit,—"the last packed away in a chest," as Celsius quaintly observes, "with the other treasures,"—and on the 20th April, 1523, steered for the Netherlands.[1]

At Whitsuntide, the 7th of June following, a State Council assembled at Strengness, in Sweden, when Knut (lately elected Archbishop), having suggested that it was now necessary to choose a king, all with one voice declared for Gustavus. But he received their congratulations with a grave countenance, thanked his countrymen for the love which they had shown him, and said, "it was greater than the services which he had rendered; that for his part he was tired with the burden and anxiety which he had already under-

[1] Tegel, 1523; Holberg, vol. ii. pp. 123, 126; Celsius, vol. i. p. 186. Here he vainly endeavoured to draw Henry the Eighth of England into a treaty for aid to recover his dominions, offering Iceland as a security for the outlay.—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 11.

gone for the commonweal; let them choose some one of the old knights and nobles then present, and he would give him his truth and allegiance." Tears and exclamations interrupted this well-considered address, and Gustavus, yielding at length to the constraint and entreaties of the whole assembly, suffered himself to be elected King of Sweden.[1]

[1] Tegel, 1523; Celsius, vol. i. p. 196. "Gustavus," says Hvitfeldt, "made a show of resistance, but the Pope's legate pressed him hard to accept their offer, to which he at last consented, entreating their loyal help and prayers, that he might effectually discharge the duties of his office."

Severin Norby now governed the island of Gothland, nominally on behalf of Christian, but with a very independent sway. He even issued a coinage, chiefly of copper, with his own name on one side, and the arms of Gothland, a lamb with a standard, on the other. Piracy supplied the chief revenues of the little state. Norby attacked merchant vessels of all nations, with an especial preference, however, for the Lubeckers, declaring that it was his "health and delight to overhaul their bales and rummage in their spice-bags." All his booty he carried to Visby, which was full to overflowing with different kinds of merchandize. The empty ships he gave back to the merchants, wishing them a happy return with fresh and fuller cargoes.[1]

In vain had Frederic written to him to give over such unchristian practices. The old prejudice in favour of a Rover's life—which was once, we know, so reputable a calling in ancient Greece, that no offence was either intended or received when one asked another if he were a pirate[2]—seems in the Baltic, like duelling in more polished climes, to have long survived the positive laws against it. During the Union many of the commandants of the fortresses on the sea-coast were pirates. Eric of Pomerania,

[1] Tegel, 1524. Each of the shillings issued by Norby = a klipping = 18 penningar = 1-8th of a Danish mark. "Evulgabat quoque suam monetam, in cujus uno latere ejus nomen, altero Gothlandorum insigne, agnus cum vexillo, extabat."—Loccenii Hist. Succ., lib. vi. p. 225.

[2] Thucydides, lib. i. cap. 5.

CHAPTER V.

Accession of Duke Frederic of Holstein to the throne of Denmark — Obtains assistance from Gustavus — Proceedings of Norby in Gothland — Piracy formerly not infamous — Expedition against Gothland — Norby appeals to Frederic — Treaty of Malmo — Siege of Visby abandoned — Calmar, garrisoned by Von Mehlen, recovered by Gustavus — Norby attacks Scânia on the part of Christian — Surrenders Gothland to Frederic — His defeat and death.

FREDERIC made only a feeble effort to restore to its integrity the triple crown worn by his predecessor. His claim to that of Sweden, which he founded upon the treaty of Calmar, was very slender, and does not appear to have been treated, by the States assembled at Jönköping on the 17th of October, 1523, to take it into consideration, with much respect. They replied that they had chosen Gustavus Erickson for their King. They at the same time demanded the release of Christina Gyllenstjerna and the other Swedish ladies who were imprisoned in Denmark.[1]

The disturbed state of this country, in which several fortresses were still held for the deposed King, induced Frederic, instead of resenting the answer he had received, to propose a conference for the accommodation of differences. He also solicited and obtained Gustavus's assistance in the reduction of Malmö.[2]

[1] Tegel, 1523.

[2] Bruzelii, Hist., 247.

as we have seen, shared the spoils of pirates; and if we must not judge of the general state of feeling from the speech of his lightminded and infamous nephew Christopher, who excused him by saying "My uncle must live," yet the facts that with this same Norby Christina Gyllenstjerna was all but engaged, that John employed him and others of the same character in important commands, and that Frederic offered him large fiefs in his dominions, negative the idea that a man in those days and countries lost *caste* from turning Rover. As to Norby himself—the pride of birth and profession, contempt for the mercantile classes, a feeling that they were born only to supply the wants of the soldier and the gentleman, conspired probably with the urgency of those wants, and, in the case of the Lubeckers, with an old grudge, to silence all scruples.[1]

The Lubeckers, who suffered most from these piracies, endeavoured by every argument to engage Gustavus in an attack upon Gothland.

This fertile island had at an early period been colonized from Sweden. The inhabitants acknowledged the supremacy of the Upsala Kings during the age of the Folk Kungar, and—after their conversion

[1] Tegel, 1524. "Anno Domini 1507 et deinceps acriter pugnatum est terrâ et mari inter Regem Johannem, Gubernatorem Suetiæ, atque cives Lubicenses, Rege ubique triumphante. Duces autem navalis belli erant viri famatissimi Severinus Norby, Otto Rud, Johannes Holgeri, atque horum similes piratæ ad prædam atque piraticam non minus naturâ quam arte instructi."—Chron. Skibyense, Rer. Dan. Scrip., vol. ii. p. 563.

to Christianity by St. Olof—the spiritual jurisdiction of the Bishop of Linköping, at the same time undertaking to accompany the Swedish King in his naval expeditions with seven ships, or to pay instead a yearly tribute. While the commerce of Sweden itself was as yet almost nothing, Gothland possessed a very considerable trade. Merchants from different parts of Germany established themselves there, and the corporation of German merchants in the island became so powerful, that the Hanseatic league appears, from recent investigations (says Geijer), to have originated in a great degree from that union, which trading from the different towns of the league had previously cemented at Gothland. There was a time when Visby excited the envy of Lubeck itself; but the attack of Denmark under Waldemar in 1361 was a fatal blow to its prosperity; it was soon after completely separated from Swedish dominion; and Gothland, whose maritime law (Sjörät) had been a model in the north of Europe, became for a long time an abode of pirates.[1]

The delegates from Lubeck strove to bring over

[1] Geijer, vol. i. p. 324. "This ancient city is the most extraordinary place in the north of Europe. It is a city of the middle ages, existing unbroken and unchanged in a great measure to the present day. . . . I counted thirty-five towers, spires, or prominent ruins. . . . This curious city contains at present only 4268 inhabitants, badly lodged in little tenements under edifices of great cost and magnificence, which the former inhabitants reared from the superfluity of their wealth. You scarcely see a human being moving in streets once crowded with the wealthiest merchants of all countries."—Laing's 'Sweden,' p. 302, to which the reader is referred for a full and very interesting account of the present condition of Gothland and its capital.

Gustavus to their views in respect to Gothland, by urging the ancient claims of Sweden to that island. To the objections which he offered—"that he was too much in debt to Lubeck already to undertake a new war; that it would probably embroil him with Denmark; and that, if the bone over which he and Norby were quarrelling should be snatched away by that power, he did not know how he was to be indemnified"—they answered, that if he would undertake the war, they would allow their debt to stand over for several years without interest; that if he would demand the daughter of Frederic in marriage, the latter would give Gothland as her dowry, and then the rival claims would be amicably terminated; but finally, if by any means the island should pass into the hands of the Danes, they would return Gustavus half the expenses of the expedition, the other half they would pay themselves.[1]

With whatever reluctance Gustavus had entered into this scheme, when once the war was resolved upon he prosecuted it with his usual energy, obtained troops and transports from Germany, melted down his plate to meet the expenses, and, as Gothland was in the see of Linköping, and the Bishop had advocated the expedition, he required him to furnish for his share of it one hundred men in full armour.[2]

The command was intrusted to Bernhard von Mehlen, a German knight, formerly in the service of

[1] Tegel, 1524; Loccenii Hist. Suec., vol. vi. p. 226.

[2] Loccenius, vol. vi. p. 237; Celsius, vol. i. p. 241.

Christian, who had been admitted to the Swedish state-council on the day of the King's election, enfeoffed with Stekeborg, and married to Margaret Vasa, the King's cousin. Unfortunately there had been a disputed inheritance between the cousins, and the hostile feeling which the contest excited on the part of Margaret was felt when she joined her husband in Gothland. Von Mehlen set sail on Whitsun eve, May 8th, 1524, with 8000 troops of the best description, and in a short time took the whole island excepting Visby, and the castle Visbourg, a strong place built by Eric of Pomerania. To these he laid siege, and Norby, finding himself hard pressed, wrote on the 15th of June a letter in which "he surrendered the town and fortress of Visby to Frederic King of Denmark elect and the state-council, upon condition that they should send him relief as soon as possible, and that he should be protected according to the instructions given to Otté Anderson (the bearer), whom he had fully empowered to act on his behalf."[1]

"King Frederic," says Hvitfeldt, "promised all that Christian had promised, but when he thought that he had a true man in Norby he found himself mistaken."

The Gothland expedition was, as Gustavus had anticipated, not very palatable to the Danes. Negotiations ensued, and ended in a meeting at Iönköping, where the Danish representatives demanded both the

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1524; Celsius, vol. i. p. 248.

recall of the troops and the restitution of Bohusland and Blekingé, which Gustavus had taken during the late struggle. Nothing being concluded here, an adjourned meeting was held at Malmö, on the 1st of September, when Gustavus and Frederic were both present and took part in the discussion. Gustavus came prepared with documents to prove the claim of Sweden to Gothland by ancient possession; to Blekingé, Halland, and Scânia by purchase; and to Bohusland or Viken by mortgage unredeemed. But when neither party could be convinced by the arguments of the other, the legate from the Hanse Towns proposed, as mediator, that the settlement of the respective claims of Sweden and Denmark should be postponed until another meeting, to be held at Lubeck in the following year. If the plenipotentiaries of the two kingdoms could not then agree, six commissioners from the principal Hanse Towns were to adjust all differences. Should it in the mean time appear that Visby town and castle had been on the day of the present meeting in the power of Gustavus, he was to hold them until the proposed meeting; but if it should turn out that they were on that day held by the Danes, or by Severin Norby as the representative of the Danish King, they were to be retained until further investigation. If in the end Frederic obtained the island, it was to be decided what proportion of the expenses of the war he was to pay Gustavus, and the latter was to hold Bohusland until the sum awarded should be paid. Lastly, the

King to whom the island should be adjudged was to indemnify the Lubeckers for the losses they had sustained by the piracies of Norby.

These matters being put in train for settlement, the three states concluded a treaty offensive and defensive against Christian as a common enemy, and each agreed to release the prisoners of the other kingdoms, and not to harbour their refugees. In pursuance of this compact Christina Gyllenstjerna, her children, and Gustavus's grandmother, returned to Sweden.[1]

Gustavus gave a reluctant consent to the arrangements concerning Gothland, and was so little pleased with the part which Lubeck had taken in the matter, that, falling in with Herman Israel, the Lubecker at whose persuasion he had engaged in the war, on his way from the meeting, he reproached him violently, drew his dirk, and was with difficulty prevented from doing him a violence. On his return to Stockholm, where he found that great disorders had arisen in his absence, through the preaching of the Anabaptists, he resolved never again to leave Sweden, a resolution which he stedfastly kept.[2]

As soon as Norby received intelligence of the intended meeting at Malmö, the result of which has just been related, he persuaded Von Mehlen to suspend hostilities, on the ground that a truce in the interim had been agreed to by the Danish and Swedish Kings. How far the Swedish General was

[1] Tegel, 1524; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 20. [2] Ib.; ib.

deceived by Norby's representations is doubtful; but it is certain that he discontinued the siege, went up as Norby's guest to the castle, and became sponsor to his illegitimate son. Subsequent events give reason to believe that Norby, having ascertained his hostile feeling towards Gustavus, then made him acquainted with his designs, and more especially with his project of obtaining the regency of Sweden by means of a marriage with Christina Gyllentsjerna.[1] That this hope, as far as the lady is concerned, was not altogether presumptuous, is evident from her letter on the subject, written in July, 1526, to her relation Knut Pehrson. Her situation was then rather critical. The engagement had been talked of and made use of to foment the dissensions in the Dales, and she was wholly in the power of Gustavus. Probably she was already aware of the alliance which the King, to put an effectual stop to Norby's projects, meditated for her with John Turéson, the son of the High Steward, and which actually took place that same year. If so, it was doubly necessary to break with her former suitor, and it must be confessed that she accomplished her task with all that charming tact for which her sex is justly celebrated. "She was afraid," she says, "that Norby had given out, the year before, that she was betrothed to him, and that he held her written engagement. But he could not prove that she had plighted her faith, either to himself or to any other man, since the death of her

[1] Loccenius, vol. vi. pp. 232, 233.

husband. She had written to him but once, and had then told him that she was not disposed again to marry; but that if she were inclined he would be the man of her choice. Now she did not know whether he had so understood these words as though she had meant to take him for her wedded lord; if he had, he was mistaken. She wrote as she had done in gratitude for the goodwill which he had shown her, not to engage herself. True, she had sent him a gold ring and tablet; but this was only to testify the sense she entertained of the courteous attention he had paid her when she was captive in Denmark. Finally, she prayed her relation to give Norby distinctly to understand that she could not have him; with that exception she would most gladly show him any kindness in her power." [1]

In consequence of the treaty of Malmö the siege of Visby, which had lasted from June to Michaelmas, was formally raised, and the armament returned to Sweden, but Von Mehlen, unwilling to encounter the King, proceeded not to Stockholm, but to Calmar. [2]

Gustavus disguised his resentment, and on the 22nd January, 1525, wrote to him in a friendly style to come up to Stockholm, promising that, if he did so, nothing but good should befall him. The personal persuasions of a member of the State Council, Knut Anderson, and of the King's quartermaster, Nils

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1526.

[2] Tegel, 1524; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 21.

Erickson, being added, Von Mehlen, with the first open water, came up to the capital, and there consented to give up Calmar to whomsoever the King should appoint. He wrote accordingly to his brother, whom he had left in command, to surrender the castle to Erickson, the King's nominee. But Henry von Mehlen, not altogether satisfied with his brother's position, replied, that before he did so he must receive the latter's personal authority, and, as he continued obstinate, the King was obliged to send Bernhard back, who on his arrival, by fair promises, induced Erickson to permit him, contrary to the King's orders, to re-enter the fortress. Having then reinforced the garrison by some troops stationed at Öland, and taken an oath of all not to surrender the place until he should return from Germany, he set out thither on the Friday after Whitsuntide, to obtain help of Albert of Mecklenburg and others, leaving an old officer of the younger Sturé's in command at Calmar.[1]

It was not without much preparation and a severe loss that Calmar was recovered. In an unsuccessful attempt to storm it, made under the King's own eye, several of his bravest soldiers fell—among the rest the gallant Peter Fredag; from a body of 400 archers, four only escaped; and out of four regiments of infantry, there were very few who were not either

[1] Tegel, 1525. Von Mehlen promised both to surrender the fortress and to deliver Nicholas Sturé, an inmate there, into the hands of Erickson.—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 22.

killed or wounded. The loss of the garrison, on the other hand, was so severe, that they proposed the next day to capitulate; but the King required an unconditional surrender, and when it was made they were almost all put to death. Among the captives was Nils Stenson Sturé, the son of the late Regent, a boy of twelve years old, who had been sent to Dantzic by his mother in 1520, and had returned from thence to Calmar while Bernhard von Mehlen was at Stockholm. Gustavus took the boy to his court.[1]

Earlier in this same year—viz. in the beginning of April—Severin Norby made an attack upon Scånia, in the name, as he gave out, of its rightful king, and took Landscrona, which he fortified by the help of the peasants. A letter from Christian to second this movement was picked up at sea soon after. It professed on the part of the writer "an especial love for the common people, whom he had always protected, and thereby given mortal offence to the great lords temporal and spiritual, who cared for a poor peasant, their equal in the sight of God and Jesus Christ, no more than a dog, often exchanging them head for head, and putting one to death with as little remorse as the other. They knew that his father and himself had taken up many a poor man and made him rich; but those who had eaten his bread and been made lords by him had sought his life, so that he had been compelled to fly his country and seek help elsewhere.

[1] Tegel, 1525.

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The Emperor, having now conquered the French King and taken him prisoner,[1] would soon (he expected) give him aid to punish such ingratitude. He had promised to come, if possible, in person; if not, to send a large army to reinstate him in his dominions. He (Christian) warned them of these expectations, that the guilty might repent of their rebellion; in the mean time, and until he should come himself to punish all his enemies, and to pardon all who should submit and aid Norby, he gave that officer full powers to complete the work which he had begun."[2]

There was plausibility enough in these representations for them to produce a powerful effect upon those to whose passions they were addressed. Norby gradually collected an army of 8000 or 10,000 peasants, and took all the market-towns in Scânia with the exception of Malmö.

The nobles who had taken refuge in Malmö wrote to Frederic to inform him of their distress. A meeting took place in consequence near Lubeck, where, in concert with the Hanse Towns, an expedition was planned against the insurgents. The allied forces collected from all points did not amount to more than 1500 foot and 500 horse. They chose Ranssow and Krabbé for their generals. The insurgent army, on the contrary, under one of Norby's lieutenants, amounted to 8000, but was mostly composed of

[1] The battle of Pavia, at which Francis the First was taken, took place on the 24th of February, 1525.

[2] Hvitfeldt, 1525; Letter dated Lyre, 23rd April, 1525.

peasants, and the superiority of arms, discipline, and military skill made this disparity in point of numbers less formidable to the weaker party. The armies met near Lund, when the insurgent army was completely defeated and driven to Vogenborg, with a loss of 3000 peasants killed, besides a good many regular soldiers, and 500 prisoners. On Frederic's side, also, the loss was considerable, including many good knights and commanders.[1]

Severin Norby was besieging Helsinbourg when he heard these evil tidings. He immediately raised the siege, which he had commenced ten days previously, and proceeded to Landscrona, where he was reinforced by 2000 of the fugitives from Lund. Frederic's troops, on the other hand, invested the place; but while they were thus occupied, having learned that one of Norby's generals was coming with a force of 7000 peasants to relieve it, Ranssow marched out to meet them and gained another complete victory.[2]

This success decided the fate of the expedition. Severin Norby found that the only course now open to him was to treat with Frederic for the surrender of Gothland. He received in exchange Solvitzborg, where he began again to build ships with a view to his old practices. Summoned by the King to Denmark, he excused himself on the plea of a written engagement with his soldiers not to leave them before they were paid. In 1526 a vessel which brought the

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1525. [2] Ibid.

remainder of his effects, his child, and one of his officers, Severin Brun, from Gothland, ran ashore in Calmar Sound, and was detained by Gustavus until some artillery of his, of which Norby had become, as he alleged, wrongfully possessed, should be restored to him. Norby, highly incensed at these reprisals, endeavoured to engage Frederic in a war with the Swedish King. But Frederic was so far from complying that he sent the letter to Gustavus, and both, ultimately uniting their forces against him, defeated a squadron which he commanded personally, and took seven of his ships and 400 prisoners.[1]

He himself escaped, or was driven by a storm, with the remnant of his fleet, to Narva, from whence he was either carried prisoner to Moscow, or proceeded voluntarily to that city to exasperate the Czar against Sweden and Denmark, and failing in the attempt was imprisoned there. His imprisonment lasted for three years. In 1529 he obtained his release at the intercession of the Emperor, who on his arrival at the Netherlands pensioned him, and took him into his service. He accompanied Charles to Florence, was killed at the siege of that city in 1530, and buried in a monastery without the walls. His epitaph, written by Cornelius Scepper,[2] is preserved by Hvitfeldt.

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1525, 1526.

[2] Scepper was born at Nieuport, in Flanders, and became Vice-Chancellor to Christian the Second, whom he accompanied in his flight, and whom he defended with his pen.—Holberg, vol. ii. p. 157. He was afterwards secretary to the Emperor, by whom he was employed at the Diet of Augsburg and on many important missions. Norby

" Oceanum hostili toties qui sanguine tinxit
A gelido Thules littore ad usque Cronum
Quem non immerito Slavi, Suedique, Gothique,
Vandaliæque urbes extimuere ducem.
Norbius Œtrusco jacet hic Severinus in antro
A Florentinâ missus in astra pilâ.
Barbarus ille nequit captivum extinguere Moschus
Mergere, non mediis Ennosigœus aquis.
Debuit in Latio, velut orbis in arce, perire
Tanta viri ut virtus undique nota foret."

" He, who so oft from Thulè's icy shore,
Earth's utmost realm, the ocean stain'd with gore,
Whom the leagued towns, whene'er the fight he led,
Swede, Sclave, Goth fear'd, and with no causeless dread,
Here, while his spirit dwells in brighter skies,
At Florence struck, the gallant Norby lies;
That life which Moscow's dungeon could not quell,
Nor Neptune quench amid his boundless swell,
In Latium sunk, the citadel of Fame,
That through the world might spread so great a name."

Gustavus lost in him an enemy who, had his life been spared, could not fail to have still cost him trouble; Christian, a friend whose zeal and fidelity none was left adequately to supply. Loyalty to his chief and daring courage were no uncommon virtues in the northern rover; but Norby combined with these an habitual humanity, far more rarely found in his adopted trade, and which, though it cannot cover, induces us to look with the more pity and regret upon, "his thousand crimes."

was buried (Messenius conjectures) in the Bridgettine convent near Florence.

CHAPTER VI.

Financial difficulties — Wealth of the clergy — The Reformation in Sweden — The brothers Petri — Discussions — Translation of the Scriptures — The Anabaptists — Judicious conduct of Gustavus — Deposition of the Bishops of Vesterâs and Upsala — Their attempts to produce a rebellion in the Dales — The King's letter to the Dean of Upsala — His address to the Dalesmen — Trial and execution of the deposed Bishops — Banishment of Archbishop Johannes Magnus.

GUSTAVUS was reminded at the very beginning of his reign that one of its chief difficulties would be financial. On the day of his election a deputation from Lubeck pressed for the immediate payment of their debt, and, when time was asked, would grant it only on the following hard conditions. That Sweden should conclude no treaty, either with Christian or any other power, without the Lubeckers' consent; that at the surrender of Stockholm and Calmar all goods, which the Lubeck and Dantzic merchants should claim upon oath, should be restored to them; that the wares of the same cities should be admitted free of duty, and the whole foreign trade of Sweden be confined to the Hanse towns.[1]

The necessities of the King obliged him to accede to this intolerable treaty. To pay off the debt and

[1] Tegel, 1523. The treaty is dated "Strengness, Wednesday after octav. Corporis Christi, 1523."

to satisfy the German troops there was imposed at the same congress a tax in silver to be levied throughout the kingdom. A scale of fees also to be paid into the treasury upon the granting of fiefs, the appointment to offices, the collations to benefices, &c., was now settled.[1]

On the 29th of June following the King wrote from Stockholm respecting the collection of the silver tax in the following terms:—"We hope, dear Dannemen, that you are able thoroughly to estimate the great outlays and expenses which have hung upon us since we became Regent, and which, almost all, will still hang upon us until, as we are now meditating, we shall have got rid of the Lubeck soldiers, who will not be content with little, and more especially not with the *Klippingar* which, from pure necessity, are struck here in the kingdom. Moreover it is demanded of us to send out, with the Lubeckers, payment for the ships and munitions which we purchased for the protection of the kingdom, so that we on these accounts are compelled to borrow of churches and monasteries, both here and elsewhere. We therefore enjoin you without delay to search in your churches and monasteries, both in the town and in the adjoining country, and observe what can best be spared, and select therefrom the valuables — to wit, the monstrances, the chalices, or whatever else of the kind there may be—and also any coin which may come to hand, and send them here by a sure

[1] Tegel, 1523.

messenger without any delay or negligence. When we have received the same and know the amount, we will give an acknowledgment, so that the debt may be duly repaid, when we and the state shall be in better circumstances."[1]

All these measures were too little for the necessities of the state. The silver raised from the Church was expended chiefly in the pay of the army. The debt to Lubeck of 68,681 Lubeck marcs for war munitions, exclusive of 8609 for money advanced, remained still unpaid. A fresh debt was incurred for the reduction of Finland and for the Gothland expedition. Moreover the yearly expenses of the kingdom after the restoration of peace were 60,000 marcs annually, while the income was only 24,000.[2] The balance-sheet, therefore, was the more unsatisfactory, that there appeared no prospect of liquidating, but rather of increasing the debt. The population generally was too much impoverished by long-continued disturbances to bear the new imposts required for the defence of the kingdom and the discharge of its outstanding obligations. The only classes which still remained comparatively wealthy were the ecclesiastics. To them belonged two-thirds of the lands of the whole realm. It seemed just that these should contribute, in proportion to their ability, and to the protection which they enjoyed, for the maintenance and defence of the commonwealth. It

[1] Stockholm, 29 June, 1523; R. R.; fol. 126; vol. i. p. 1; Thyselii.

[2] Reckoning the Lubeck mark = 2 Swedish marks nearly, the debt may be estimated in round numbers at 14,000*l*. See Appendix.

seemed unreasonable and impolitic that so large a share of the wealth of the kingdom should be devoted nominally to religious uses, but in a great part to uses questionable, and in some part to uses evidently bad. Gustavus felt this keenly, for he was not only personally displeased with the Papal See for having connived at Christian's impunity, and attempted to intrude Francisco de Potentia, a foreigner who had been a party to that escape, into the bishopric of Skara,[1] but his very faith in Popery had been shaken. He suspected it to be in theory as much opposed to the truth and simplicity of the Gospel, as in practice it was detrimental to the interests of the state. This suspicion was, in the progress of his inquiries, more and more confirmed. In working, therefore, for its overthrow he obeyed only the convictions of his reason and conscience. But it was in the spirit of an able and not over-scrupulous statesman, rather than with the simplicity of an Apostle, that he began and carried on the work of the Reformation, till he

[1] In his letter to Cardinal L. Campegia, Calmar, 24th May, 1524, he scarcely conceals his feelings:—"In summa tamen id pro responso habere placeat, nos alienigenas ad ecclesias regnorum nostrorum non æquo animo admissuros dum indigenas de quorum dexteritate experti sumus non pauces habeamus. Existimamus etiam ad vestram notitiam indubie pervenisse, quantum injuriæ passa est ecclesia Scarensis, quando sanctissimus ejus pastor Vincentius gladio Sevissimi Christierni Danorum regis absumptus est, quæ profecto parum consolationis a sede Romanâ reportaret, si, contra votum eorum, quorum interest, aliquis illi Episcopus præficeretur, et maxime Franciscus iste, qui, in legatione suâ ad Daciam satis (nisi dissimulare voluerit) intellexerat quam tyrannice crudelissimeque cum eâdem ecclesiâ actum est."—R. R., fol. 193; Thys., vol. i. p. 3.

brought it, step by step, to its successful close.[1] Two brothers, Olaus and Laurentius Petri, courageous and earnest men, had led the way in this enterprise. They were the sons of a smith at Örebro, had studied with great distinction at Wittemburg under Luther and Melanchthon, and been encouraged by them to return and evangelize their native land. They arrived in Sweden in 1519. In 1520 Olaus was made canon of Strengness, and both soon began to preach in secret against indulgences, vows of celibacy, the worship of saints and images, prayer for the dead, auricular confession, and the power of the Pope.[2] On the first of these topics, the impudence and rapacity of Arcemboldi, the Pope's legate, who in Denmark and Sweden had lately been rivalling his colleague Tetzel in Germany, afforded the most palpable marks for invective. For a small sum of money, in addition to a certain number of Aves and Paternosters, this man, "by the authority (as he expressed it) of our Saviour and of his blessed Apostles St. Peter and St. Paul and of his Holiness the Pope, gave a plenary indulgence for all sins, remitted all the pains of purgatory, restored to the sacraments, to the unity of the faithful, to the purity and innocence of baptismal grace, so that at death the gates of

[1] Messenius writes in 1523,—"Hoc, præcedenti, ac sequentibus annis immensis Clerum, Sueciæque emunxit Ecclesias opibus, sub prætextu militi potissimum et Lubecensibus solvendi, extortis, solutione promissâ; verum ad Græcas numeranda Calendas."—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 14.

[2] Tegel, 1524.

punishment might be closed, and those of the paradise of bliss immediately opened." And lest this pardon should be thought nullified by subsequent transgressions, it was reserved and to take effect in the article of death.[1]

The preaching of the Petris, during the continuance of the war, attracted comparatively little notice. Men were too much occupied with immediate interests to attend much to religious controversies. But when the struggle was over, their sermons in Strengness church, and the lectures of Olaus, who was Rector of the school at that place, began to make an evident impression. They had found a convert and a protector there in the Archdeacon, Lars Anderson (Laurentius Andreæ), who afterwards became the King's Chancellor; and a vigorous opponent in Nicolaus Dean of Strengness, who maintained with them a constant controversy. Rumours of this controversy having reached the ears of Gustavus, he desired to hear the disputed points discussed in his presence. The result was that, having consulted first his Chancellor, and afterwards Luther himself, concerning the doctrines of the Reformation, he became

[1] Seckendorf, Luther, vol. i. p. 14; apud Dalin. "Anno Domini 1517 missus est in Daniam a Leone X. Pont. Max. D. Angelus Arcumboldus. Hæc (legatio) adeo fuit scandalosa ut omnem pietatem et religionem merâ licentiâ extinxerit. Eo quod incidera in commissarios luxu, fastu, et ambitione perditissimos, quorum culpâ factum est, ut sancta illa Romana Ecclesia, totius orbis magistra, nunc male audiat per multas orbis nationes, voceturque infamis Babylonia, quæ olim habita est Christianæ religionis præcipua mater victrix et gubernatrix."—Chron. Skibyense—Dan. Rer. Script., vol. ii. p. 566.

a firm though at first a secret supporter of them. In 1524 he appointed Olaus Petri preacher and town-secretary at Stockholm, and his brother Laurentius Rector of the school at Upsala.[1]

The Bishop of Linköping, the most able and courageous of the Swedish prelates, was the most determined opponent of the Lutherans, warning the people and priesthood against their "honeyed poison," and entreating the Pope to appoint inquisitors in every diocese to search out that pernicious heresy. He urged Gustavus also not to shield those who promulged the new opinions, and to prohibit the sale of Luther's writings. To the first point Gustavus answered that he was bound to protect every one of his subjects until they should have been convicted of some crime or misdemeanour. To the second he wrote—"As to your request that we should forbid the purchase of Luther's books, we do not see how we can grant it until we hear them condemned by impartial judges, especially since books *against* Luther are brought into the country. It seems, therefore, according to our poor understanding, that there should be an opportunity of reading the one as well as the other."[2]

If it should appear somewhat contrary to the principle of fair discussion thus maintained, that Gustavus

[1] The King sent Luther a silver-gilt goblet, which in 1703 was still preserved in the Council-house at Lubeck.—Dalin, vol. ii. p. 89; Westen, Swensk. Kong. Hofclericiets Historia, Stockholm, 1799; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 12.

[2] Tegel, 1524.

two years afterwards forbade the same prelate to publish translations of the edicts of the Emperor and Duke George of Saxony, on the ground that they might produce disturbances, and stopped the working of a printing press which the Bishop had established in Söderköping to maintain the cause of his party,[1] yet it was no doubt the array of armed authority, "the logic of kings," and not the force of argument, that he feared on that side of the question. To free discussion he continually invited the abettors of Popery. Thus at Christmas, 1524, Olaus Petri, in his presence and by his desire, challenged any of the canons of Upsala to defend the doctrines of the Romish Church. At first the Chapter declined to engage in the contest, but finally appointed Peter Gallé as their champion. The questions submitted for discussion were twelve, involving the chief topics of controversy between the Protestant and Roman Churches, *e. g.*—Whether God's word be the sole rule of faith: what are the limits of ecclesiastical authority: whether more particularly the lordship exercised by the Pope and his abettors be for Christ or against him: whether man can be saved by his own works and deservings, or otherwise than by God's grace and mercy: whether the monastic system is sanctioned by Scripture: whether men have a right to order the administration of the Lord's Supper in a way different from Christ's institution: whether there is any scriptural warrant for the doctrine of purga-

[1] Skand. Handl., 16; Del. s. 43, apud Geijer, vol. ii. p. 49.

tory: and lastly, whether the saints are to be worshipped and prayed to, and are our protectors, patrons, mediators, and intercessors before God.

A sharp discussion followed, in which Peter Gallé relied upon the Fathers, Olaus upon Scripture alone. After it had continued some time, Gustavus stopped the disputants, and requested them to reduce their arguments to writing, to be examined at a future convocation of the Swedish Church. The questions and answers were afterwards printed and circulated throughout the kingdom. But the great publication on the Protestant side was that which appeared in 1526—the New Testament in the language of the people! This translation was made by the Chancellor Lars Anderson, at the King's command.[1]

The Bishop of Linköping, when invited by the King to defend his faith and convince the gainsayers, prudently declined, declaring that "it would be rash, or rather a heinous crime, to cast a doubt upon that doctrine, which had flourished intact for so many ages, which had been sealed with the blood of so many martyrs, which had been confirmed by the testimony of so many Fathers, and approved by so many Councils throughout the world."[2] He was

[1] Troils. Hand., 1; Del. apud Geijer. Messenius seems to be in error in assigning 26th December, 1525, instead of 1524, as the date of the conference.—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 27. The translation of the whole Scriptures now in use in the Swedish Church was made by Laurentius Petri, assisted by his brother, in 1541.—Vita. Laur. Petri, in Script. Rerum Suecarum, vol. ii.

[2] "Braschius vero haud inops consilii, prohibito Sudercopensis usu typographiæ, ex Hafniensi suos publicat tractatus, et Regi, quoad dis-

angry with the Archbishop for consenting to undertake even a Roman Catholic translation of the Scriptures, "when he could not be ignorant that the doctrines of Luther would spread by this means; nor that Christ had left teachers in his Church, that *they* might explain the Scriptures to the people, and not that the stupid populace, having obtained the opportunity from their publication, might rashly dispute concerning them." [1]

In 1525 Olaus Petri practically protested against the Romanist restrictions upon marriage by marrying himself, an example followed by other ecclesiastics. The King defended him at the moment, and in 1528 he himself published a formal vindication of the step which he had taken.

Gustavus, however, while encouraging the Reformed doctrines, and vindicating Christian liberty, took care to discountenance the wild and enthusiastic ideas which sprang up amid the good seed of the Reformation, and sometimes threatened to render it unfruitful.

putationem cum Lutheranis respondet, sibi, nec de suo ullum esse dubium presbyterio, nec de fide pristinâ, ut illud novâ indigeret discussione illustrationeque. Temerarium quoque vel potius nefarium esse scelus illam in dubium vocare doctrinam, quæ tot floruisset seculis intaminata; tot martyrum sanguine esset obsignata, tot SS. patrum testimonio roborata, et tot per orbem consiliis approbata." — Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 33.

[1] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 26. "Queritur in literis Upsaliam Doctori Petro Galle perscriptis, de Archiepiscopo Bibliorum translationi consentiente, cum non ignorarat incrementa hinc doctrinam Lutheri sumpturam, et propterea Christum Ecclesiæ Doctores reliquisse, ut ipsi sacras explicarent populo scripturas, non stolida hinc nacta occasionem plebicula de illis perperam disputaret."

On his return from Malmö, in the autumn of 1524, he found the whole city in an uproar through the proceedings of two newly arrived Anabaptists—Melchior Rink, a furrier, and Knipperdolling, a mercer—who in 1534 played a distinguished part among the fanatics of that sect at Munster.[1] They had met with supporters, got possession of St. John's church, where they preached from the Revelation on the reign of saints in the millennium. Excited by these leaders, their partisans broke into churches and convents, destroyed the images, organs, and ornaments which they found there, and threw the fragments into the streets and market-places. Olaus Petri's ineffectual attempt to quell these disturbances did not save him from a sharp rebuke from Gustavus. The authors themselves were imprisoned, banished the kingdom, and forbidden on pain of death to return. But the affair gave great scandal, which was augmented in the provinces by the injudicious conduct, and in some instances by the irregular lives, of those preachers who had adopted the new opinions. Gustavus, therefore, in his *Eriksgata*, endeavoured to correct what was amiss. He personally addressed a part of the evangelical clergy, and to others he sent some of his most distinguished officers—telling them "to proceed more cautiously, not to dwell harshly upon topics which might give offence, not to carp at either pope

[1] Knipperdolling was a citizen of good birth and considerable eminence. – Charles the Fifth, book v. He and his colleague came to Sweden not simply as missionaries, but partly, at any rate, for the purpose of trading.

or bishops, for the ignorant people were immediately offended, and said they preached a new faith. The pure doctrine of the Gospel he would certainly uphold and spread over the kingdom: but he complained that they did not instruct the people properly; that some spoke scoffingly of the saints; that some condemned good works, not distinguishing those which were of man's device and invention from those which God himself had ordained; that some had put aside many holydays, together with the comfortable Gospels and Epistles which fell on those days; and, finally, that many led lazy and scandalous lives. He would have them attend to these things, and amend them."[1]

With such sagacity and wise moderation did the King watch over the infancy of the Reformed Church in Sweden, which, had it had a nursing father of less prudence and decision, might not possibly have been reared.

The dignitaries of the old religion understood before long, that not only were the doctrines in which they had been educated to be branded, and the ceremonies to which they were attached to be abolished, but also that the power and consideration, which they had hitherto enjoyed from their state and possessions, were to be materially curtailed. This they could ill brook. It is true that all the bishops, with the exception of two, had been appointed since Gustavus attained the regency, and for the most part by his

[1] Tegel, 1524.

influence; but this did not make them generally more manageable, or more teachable, or more inclined to renounce the claims and privileges of their Church and order.[1]

The bishop who first openly testified his dissatisfaction with the King's proceedings was Peter Jacob Sunnanväder, Bishop of Vesterås. He had been elected with the concurrence of the Dalesmen, whose especial privilege it was to have a voice in the appointments to that see. Gustavus confirmed his election with some hesitation, but did not give up to him the castle of Grönsö — an appendage to the bishopric — which had been taken from the late Bishop Otto because he favoured the Danish party.[2] This was one great cause of Sunnanväder's discontent. Attachment to the late Regent Sten Sturé, to whom he had been Chancellor, may have been instrumental in procuring him the favour of the Dalesmen. At any rate it was to that attachment he appealed in his practices against Gustavus. He maintained that the throne belonged of right to Sturé's son, and thus stirred up a spirit of discontent throughout the district. His letters fell into the hands of Gustavus, who produced them before the State-meeting at Vesterås in the autumn of 1523, and procured his deposition. On this occasion Knut, formerly Dean of

[1] Knut, Dean of Vesterås, Archbishop of Upsala; Magnus Sommar, Bishop of Strengness; Magnus Hara'dson, Bishop of Skara; Eric, Dean of Linköping, Bishop of Åbo, were all of humble origin. — Celsius.

[2] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 75. "Maturo Vallensium consilio."

Vesterås, and Bishop elect of Upsala, stood forth so decidedly in favour of the accused, that the King procured his deposition also as an accomplice in the treason. To the see of Vesterås was elected Peter Magni; and to the archbishopric Johannes Magnus (Gothus), the Pope's legate, whose claims to the King's favour were his judgment against Trollé, and perhaps a certain weakness of character, which Gustavus flattered himself might be easily moulded to his will.[1]

The deposed prelates, Knut and Sunnanväder, proceeded to the Dales, and there fanned the sparks of the rebellion which they had before kindled. Their machinations brought from the Dalesmen a letter to the King, in which they said, "they would no longer permit him to impose one tax after another upon churches and convents, priests, monks, merchants, and the people generally. They renounced their allegiance to him unless he procured them cheaper markets, drove foreigners and devils from his council, and cleared himself from the charge of having imprisoned Christina Gyllenstjerna and poisoned or banished her son."[2]

[1] Tegel, 1523; Celsius, tom. i. pp. 225, 229; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 15.

[2] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 50; also Dip. Dal., 1st October, 1524 (325). The allusion to devils is founded on the similarity of the Swedish name for them, *troll*, and the Archbishop's, Trollé, whom it was reported Gustavus meant to restore. The Dalesmen in their letter of the 1st May remind the King of his obligations to them "when he was a friendless wanderer in their woods," &c., and how ill he had performed the promises he then made them.—Dip. Dal., 349.

In the spring of 1525 the deposed prelates, who had kept up a correspondence with Norby, and hoped to turn his successes to good account, forged letters in the name of the Dalesmen that a rising was at hand. These letters were spread, about Easter, throughout the kingdom, but did not produce the effect intended.

John Larson, Dean of Upsala, wrote to Gustavus at this time, pointing out some of the causes of the prevailing discontent. He received the following answer, dated the 23rd April, 1525:—

"You write that the people are angry that the Bishop of Vesterås has not a sufficient number of retainers. We should rather expect them to be angry if he came with a multitude, burthening first one and than another; but *you* and many others *may* perhaps take offence thereat; *you*, who cannot, or will not, think otherwise than that to the office of a bishop is attached some great worldly dignity, not considering that the Scripture holds them to be the servants of all in the Gospel, and that they can fulfil this duty far better with few retainers than with many. * * *

"You write further, that it is highly advisable that nothing be violently or unjustly taken from churches and monasteries. Would to God that our forefathers had only been as careful that nothing had been filched from the Crown and nobles by fraud and imposture, as folks nowadays take care to keep what they thus obtained whether right or wrong. We do not know whether we have violently taken

anything from churches and monasteries, as you write; but we do know that we are he who restored them what their enemies *had* sliced away, and preserved what was threatened to be sliced away in like manner.

"Another person is now bestirring himself—I mean King Christian—making much ado to regain the kingdom of Sweden. Should he succeed—which God forbid—you will find that he will filch from you and from others in a very different fashion from what we have either done or wish to do; and if you and the Chapter had well considered, you would have been quite as well advised had you defended our proceedings, instead of aggravating the case whenever the priests, who are under you, had taken them ill or misunderstood them. If you yourself had given the matter due consideration, you, Master John, had no good grounds to fall in so readily with those who batter at our shield; and though you write that you do so with the best intentions, we can well perceive, from your style, to which side you incline. Now you are the man in whom, of all Upsala, we have placed the most confidence—you are he whom we have highly exalted—you are he whom we have most delighted to honour. See that you prove yourself sensible of this; *that* for the future will best become you.

"There is no occasion, we think, to write to the Chapter of Upsala touching their religious duties, as you advise; hoping that they are as zealous for God's

service as they are to take care not to be deprived of their possessions." [1]

Early in May the States assembled at Vesterås, when the King complained both of the rebel Bishops and of Norby, who had taken advantage of the scarcity of provisions, and especially of salt, to stir up the people against him. His offer to resign the Crown if his government was displeasing to the States, was met by loyal assurances of support, both in suppressing the disturbances, and in punishing the traitors. As an earnest of their good intentions it was voted, that every freeholder of less than 400 marks should have a good suit and a musket for the defence of the state; every freeholder above 400, a horse and harness; and every freeholder who had 200 marks of Crown rent, three men with horses and harness complete for nine months in the year.[2]

Having thus corroborated his authority, Gustavus proceeded to the Dales, summoned the people to meet him at Tuna-Kyrka, and held a parley with them, surrounded by a considerable body of well-armed troops. Convinced by his arguments, or overawed by this display, the Dalesmen humbly acknowledged that they had been misled, promised to be less credulous in future, and to give credit to nothing which could seduce them from their allegiance.

[1] Gust. Letter to the Dean of Upsala, John Larson, R. R., fol. 247; Thys., vol. i. p. 12.

[2] Tegel, 1525. The meeting, Sunday next after the Feast of St. Philip and St. James.

The rebel Bishops fled to Norway on the King's approach, and found a refuge with the Archbishop of Drontheim. The King demanded them back from the Norwegian Council, in virtue of that article of the treaty of Malmö by which it was agreed that the promoters of rebellion in the one country should not find protection in the other. The Council consented to deliver up the refugees, but demanded a safe-conduct, which Gustavus sent, in these terms, that "they should experience no injury in coming to Sweden, but should there stand their trial before their proper judges, and undergo what justice demanded." The Archbishop suggested that their proper judges were the prelates of the Church, seeing that the accused were churchmen. Gustavus thought otherwise; and when upon the faith of the safe-conduct Knut had been sent back, he was tried before the State Council and magistrates of Stockholm on the 9th of August, 1526, and condemned to death. The sentence was transmitted to the Archbishop of Norway; but, lest any obstacle should be made to delivering up Sunnanväder, who had been kept back because too ill to travel, the execution was deferred, and hopes given that the King was not averse to extending his grace to the convict. Accordingly, in the following month, Sunnanväder was sent prisoner to Stockholm.[1]

[1] Judgment of the State Council over Master Knut, Stockholm, 9th August, 1526, R. R., fol. 91; Thys., vol. i. p. 38; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 31. In another account of the trial, Dip. Dal. (666), it is stated that the Council recommended Knut to mercy, but the King answered "that such crimes were not so easy to pardon."

When he drew near the city Archbishop Knut was brought out to meet him, and a mock triumphal entry took place. The two prelates were seated, riding backwards, on half-starved horses, and dressed in ragged episcopal robes. On the head of one was a mitre of bark; the other wore a crown of straw, and a wooden half-broken sword. A crowd of masked hirelings followed at their heels, and yelped out insults against them. The procession passed slowly through the principal streets, and halted in the great square of the city, where, while ribald songs were singing, the wretched prisoners were welcomed and pledged in drink by the common hangman.[1]

Whatever might be the policy of this proceeding—though it might effectually intimidate the disaffected ecclesiastics, and lower in the esteem of the populace an order whom the King was determined to depress; though these and other considerations might be more than a set-off against the dangers arising from the pity and disgust of the right-minded, and the indignation of those still attached to their ancient faith—it is impossible not to regret that the great name of Gustavus should have been mixed up with such a deed; that the form of the most atrocious mockery ever perpetrated upon earth should not have been held too sacred for repetition, from respect to Him who was the object of it; and that, when from that feeling the punishment of the cross had ceased throughout Christendom, the brutalities of Herod and of

[1] Celsius, vol. i. p. 308; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 32.

Herod's soldiery should have been thus almost to the very letter preserved.[1]

Sunnanväder was sent to Upsala for trial. In addition to the judges in the case of the Archbishop, there were added two bishops and the chief persons in the Chapter of Upsala. The lay judges condemned the accused; the spiritual protested against their jurisdiction. The King gave no heed to their protest. Petitions for mercy strongly urged were equally ineffectual. The sentence was carried out at Upsala upon the Bishop of Vesterås in February, 1527, and a few days afterwards upon the Archbishop at Stockholm.[2]

Previous to this, Johannes Magnus, Knut's successor, had incurred the King's displeasure, both by his hostility to the reformed doctrines, and by his ostentatious display. He had been imprudent enough in those critical times to maintain his state with the pomp of a Wolsey, and with a luxury surpassing that of the King's own court. He visited with a cortège of 200 persons, and among the pages of his household were the sons of some of the chief nobles of the land.[3] The King had rebuked him for this ostentation, but two circumstances in particular seem to have confirmed his disgrace. He had accompanied

[1] The crucifixions at Stockholm during the massacre were a notorious and monstrous exception to the custom of the Christian world.—Ziegler, p. 134.

[2] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 35. The account of the trial of Sunnanväder and the execution of both prelates is given, Dip. Dal. (667).

[3] Compare Cavendish's Life of Wolsey.

the King to a meeting near Upsala, in which the latter had in vain attempted to convince the people that there were too many monks in the country, and that they were no better than a race of vermin, devouring the fruits of the earth; and that it was an unreasonable thing to pray in Latin since they did not understand Latin.[1] The meeting took place in May, 1526, and on their return to Upsala the King complimented the Archbishop by placing a wreath of flowers round his head, addressing him as *Mai-Grefve*, Count of May, and agreeing to partake of the hospitalities which he provided in that capacity. The offence then given was that the Archbishop during the entertainment occupied a raised seat on a level with that of the King, and said, while pledging his illustrious visitor, "Our grace drinks to your grace."[2] It is *said* that the King answered—"For *thy* grace and our grace there is not room in the same house,"[3] and rose from table amid the smiles of the courtiers. At any rate he was much offended, and his displeasure was increased when the Archbishop gave him no support at a conference with the canons of Upsala, of whom he asked upon what they grounded their right to their large possessions? Peter Gallé answered that they were grants from nobles and others, confirmed by kings and princes. "But," asked Gus-

[1] Tegel, 1526. [2] Ibid.

[3] Rhyzelii Bishopskrönika, apud Geijer. But the repartee is not noticed by the early writers. Celsius says (vol. i. p. 296) that Gustavus showed his displeasure only by silence.

tavus, "what if they were obtained by fraud, by the preaching of purgatory, or such-like cozenage of priests and friars? Have not kings and princes in that case a right to resume them?" The Archbishop and the rest made no reply; but the Dean, George Tureson, the son of the High Steward, said boldly, "The gifts confirmed by kings and emperors cannot be filched away without God's curse and eternal damnation."[1]

After being imprisoned, upon suspicion of treasonable practices, in a monastery at Stockholm, the Archbishop was released and allowed to leave the country upon the plea of a mission to Poland. A boat containing his chief treasures having (as he alleged) been lost, the clergy of Roslagen contributed liberally to his outfit, and with what he collected from this and other sources, and with the state papers, out of which he compiled his history, he set sail for Dantzic in the month of October, 1526. He proceeded from that place to Rome, where he died in great poverty in the Hospital of Santo Spirito in 1537, and was buried in the Vatican.[2]

[1] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 30; Celsius, vol. i. p. 297.

[2] Tegel, 1526; Hvitfeldt, 1526; Scond. Illust., tom. v. pp. 31, 32.

CHAPTER VII.

Right of the State to tax the Church — Bishop Brask's remonstrances — Surrender of Gripsholm convent — Troops quartered on religious houses — Arbitrary measures to raise a revenue — Rebellion in Dalecarlia — The impostor Jöns — Treaty between the King and the Dalesmen — Great meeting at Vesterâs — The King's purpose to humble the hierarchy — Resolutions of the Bishops — The King's address to the States — His offer of abdication — Perturbation of the meeting — His demands acceded to.

THE attack upon the revenues of the existing Church, its doctrines, and its dignities went on simultaneously. The man whom the King had chosen for his Chancellor, Lars Anderson, was well able to second him in his projects, and entertained views respecting Church property similar to his own. These the Chancellor pithily expressed to the monks of Vadstena, who complained, it appears, that the Church was compelled to contribute *her* money to the expenses of the Gothland expedition: "When we speak of the *Church's* money," he said, with a courteous use of the first person, "we mean the *people's*." [1]

Gustavus developed his opinions on the subject more gradually. When, in 1523, he borrowed from the churches and monasteries of the kingdom, he pro-

[1] "Quando dicimus Ecclesiæ pecuniam, quid aliud quam pecuniam populi dicimus?"—Skand. Handling, 17 del., s. 206, apud Geijer.

mised, as we have seen, repayment as soon as the exchequer should be in better circumstances. When Johannes Magnus remonstrated with him on the subject of the said loan he replied, "with tears," that no one could be more unwilling than himself to impose such burthens on the Church, but necessity compelled him.[1] After the lapse of two years, however, though he still pleads necessity to excuse the appropriation clauses with which the decrees of every fresh meeting of the States were now accompanied, it is no longer in the melting mood that the plea is urged, there is no longer any talk of repayment, and the right of the State to tax the Church, for the protection afforded it, is pretty strongly insisted upon; while in 1526 and 1527 the proposition that all Church property is public property is laid down as broadly as by the Chancellor himself. At a State meeting, held in Stockholm in January, 1525, the King submitted that, in the actual state of the kingdom—the Dalesmen unsettled, and Christian attempting to recover his dominions by force—it was necessary to keep up the army. On the other hand, with the silver and copper mines unproductive, and the revenues of the Crown generally diminished, he (the King) could not

[1] "Locutus sum Majestati suæ de gravamine ecclesiarum, &c.; respondit *profusis lachrymis*," &c.—Letter to Bishop Brask, 1st Aug. 1523, apud Geijer (vol. ii. p. 52), who seems to doubt whether the tears recorded were actually shed, *because* Gustavus in his letter to Bishop Brask on the same subject expresses himself in a tone so different. He omits, however, to give the date of the last letter, and to make sufficient allowance for the effect of time upon the King's sensibility.

maintain and pay it; much less could the people be oppressed with new imposts for the purpose. It was decreed, therefore, that the tithes, with the exception of so much as should be necessary for wax-lights and the general service of the altar, should be appropriated to the pay of the troops. The cavalry, also—seeing that the horses could not in the actual state of affairs be sent to grass for the summer—were to be quartered upon the monasteries.[1] It was upon this occasion that Bishop Brask wrote to the King counselling him "not to appropriate the Church tithes to secular uses, nor to introduce foreign customs, such as quartering troops upon religious houses, the rather that the monasteries in Sweden were not, as was often the case abroad, endowed from crown lands, but from private property, so that the King had not the smallest right to meddle with them, neither had any previous monarch ventured to do so." Gustavus answered that "he saw no better way of supplying the necessities of the State, but should be glad if the Bishop could suggest any; that, he must be aware, foreign customs were not necessarily pernicious, nd that it might well be permitted to borrow such as reason and necessity required." "You know well," he continued, "that necessity has no law; besides, can it be doing God service to feed a parcel of licentious hypocrites? or do I sin against him when, at their expense, I take measures for the peace and

[1] Tegel, 1525.

safety of the kingdom? As to the Crown not having contributed to the foundation of the religious houses, we will inquire into that matter, but our poor wit cannot comprehend how the land which is now *freed* should not once have been *tributary*, nor that it should have been freed without the usual conditions of service to the Crown. Setting this aside, however, every honest man's conscience tells him that in time of need all ought to contribute who would have their goods protected, whether they be monks or priests, monasteries or churches."[1]

At another meeting, at Vadstena, in January, 1526, a coronation-tax was imposed, to be levied in kind, with the option of commuting it for money after a given rate; and "seeing that this burthen was to be borne by the people, and that they had derived the smallest share of advantage from the public debt," it was resolved that two-thirds of the Church tithes gathered that winter should be appropriated to its liquidation; moreover, that the ecclesiastics, like the nobles, should maintain six men-at arms for every 200 marcs rent upon their fiefs, and for the payment of the debt should contribute 15,000 marcs, to be divided among the several dioceses. At the same meeting the King confirmed the old privileges of the nobles, conferred others upon them, and permitted them to redeem that portion of their patrimony which had passed into the hands of the Church since Charles

[1] Bishop's Letter, apud Bruzelium, p. 258.

Knutson's inquest. He himself put in his claim to the convent of Gripsholm.[1] "You see," said Bishop Brask, on this occasion, to his brother prelates, "the fruits of your remissness. Our ruin is at hand, and you yourselves have helped it on. The King, without a single remonstrance from you, has taken one step after another to overthrow our religion. He has Lutheran priests in his palace, preaching daily that our fall is near. He has attacked our monasteries, and you have consented to his deeds. He has allowed priests to marry; he has in your very presence subjected our faith to examination. Now he snatches away our revenues, and you look on dismayed."[2] Well might they! for drawn up against them were state-necessity, and a determined will, and an almost absolute power, and they themselves were not so strong in truth and righteousness as not to blench before the formidable array. They did their best, however, to defeat the measures which they dared not openly resist.

In a letter to Magnus Brynteson, of the 20th of March, 1526, the King complained that the Bishops had taken their own share of the tithes before they had made known to the farmers the decree for appropriating two-thirds to the liquidation of the

[1] Tegel, 1526. He claimed Gripsholm on the ground that it had been obtained from his father by a forced consent, "ignorans" (says Messenius sarcastically) "a suo contribule Canuto Ionæ anno 1404 sub coronam esse venditum."—Scond. Illust., tom. i. p. 28.

[2] Celsius, vol. i. p. 291.

debt, and had at the same time advised them to declare that, except the King accepted a very moderate composition in lieu of the share so appropriated, they should be unable to sow their fields that season.[1]

Prior to any formal decision upon the King's claim to Gripsholm the monks surrendered their convent in a document which Gustavus himself probably assisted them in compiling.

"We, the undersigned monks of Gripsholm, hereby testify that, having considered that the foundation of our convent cannot be so fully maintained but that it must be always open to be protested against by the heirs, who in that foundation suffered injury, and *that we cannot with a good conscience retain what belongs to another, and what we did not altogether honestly come by*; and finding moreover in the said foundation that, if the convent could not be maintained, then Gripsholm and its appurtenances should return to the rightful heir—in conformity with which our most gracious and beloved sovereign Lord Gustavus, who is the nearest heir, has laid claim to the said convent before his state-council, where we fully expect that justice will be done; and that we might not travel about not knowing where to go when we should be here deprived, his Grace offered us Juleta convent, where there is as good a revenue and as good opportunities for fishing as at Gripsholm; still for many reasons we were unwilling to go there, more especially because we feared that we should not

[1] Riks. Reg., fol. 39; Thys., vol. i. p. 19.

long remain there without a protest from the brethren of that order;—wherefore we besought his Grace that we might provide for ourselves, each of us near our friends where we formerly had been, which his Grace was pleased to grant, and even more; so that, had there been any among us who could not depend upon that provision, if he liked to remain to celebrate masses, &c., his Grace was content that he should remain there, and have his suitable maintenance with food and clothing; and seeing that there was at that time (when the debt was paid) little money from which we could be properly sent forth on our journey, so as to have something in hand at the end of it, we agreed with his Grace to provide each according to his needs with clothes and money, and, that his Grace might be repaid, we made over to him all the property mortgaged to the convent, or bought to sell again. All this his Grace has done, and brought us each to his native town, so that we give him thanks and acknowledge ourselves always his Grace's humble chaplains and loyal subjects as long as we live; and if through misunderstanding of the affair any evil report should arise against his Grace in consequence of this proceeding, we pledge our honour and Christian faith that we will repel it, and defend his Grace as we honestly may, *well knowing that his Grace has a good right to recover the inheritance which was taken by force from his father.*

"For further witness that it has been so agreed between his Grace and us, and that we stand pledged

as aforesaid, we invite the worthy father, Master Magnus, Bishop elect of Strengness, and the noble Michael Nilson of Erneśs, to join their seals with our convent's seal to this deed, which we also all, each for himself, subscribe with our own hands."[1]

Gustavus despatched a copy of this deed to the Dales, Westgothland, Eastgothland, and Småland, with some prefatory remarks of his own, on the 6th of April, 1526. Before the convent was cleared he wrote to the commandant, whom he had placed there, to send him the society's money-chest, but so secretly that the monks should know nothing of the matter.[2]

To retaliate upon the Bishops their attempts to evade his claims and diminish his authority, he quartered his cavalry this summer also upon the Abbess of Vreta, telling her, that she might not have a double burthen, he would arrange with the Bishops that her tenants should not be required to take in *their* horses.[3] In July the same year he gave the Prior of Eskiltuna, as long as he should be willing to entertain the King's troops, the privilege of sending his monks out to beg for the benefit of the convent, "no leave asked of the Bishop on any other." In December he permitted a Dominican monk to quit his convent and order, and gave him a full protection. To the Bishop of Linköping, who, keeping a strict eye upon the Church property in his diocese,

[1] Riks. Reg., fol. 43.; Thysel., vol. i. p. 27.
[2] Thys., vol. i. p. 30.
[3] Riks. Reg. 1526, fol. 55; Thys., vol. i. p. 32.

had caused an inventory to be taken of the property belonging to the monastery of Nydala, he wrote on the 29th of August in these terms:—

"We understand that you have ordered your Provost to take an account of the possessions of Nydal convent, from the least to the greatest, and we marvel much what can be your object in that proceeding, for you must recollect that, when the aid was last decreed at Stockholm, we excepted the monasteries, wishing ourselves to arrange with them. We are informed, too, that you claim the *jus patronatûs*, but we do not understand how you make it out: we have not learned that your ancestors founded the said convent; and, even though your predecessors, the Bishops, should have founded it, if it was from their own inheritance and possessions, it belongs then to their family, and not to you; if from the revenues of the Church, which is probable, then you have little to do with the matter, for then it was founded *from the wealth collected by the people*, who are under our rule and government, and not under yours. It is not for you, therefore, to make any change there without consulting us; and however great a *jus patronatûs* you may have thereto, it appears to us that we were somewhat slighted herein, when you knew that we ourselves wished to deal with the monasteries. We are informed also of the gold monstrance which you have taken from Cronbeck. It belongs to our family, and we should like to know what has become of it."[1]

[1] Riks. Reg. 1526, fol. 128; Thys., vol. i. p. 42.

To the Bishop and Chapter of Åbo he wrote on the 23rd of the same month:—

"We fully expected that you would have consulted us before you proceeded to choose a Dean, and had therefore ground enough for annulling the election, had we been minded to act with severity against you; however, to please you, we are content that the said election shall stand, providing that you, either from the said deanery, or from some other prebend, send into our chancery 200 marcs a-year, for the maintenance of a good man in our palace (gård); for you are well aware that there are some dignitaries from the other cathedrals in our said palace, and that they are *here* quite as useful as they can be at the cathedrals, and that there is here as much, and more, to arrange for the public good than is there possible."[1]

Under the same date he issued an authority to the Bishop and Chapter of the same See, for altering the late Dean's will. Probably some other religious corporation, if not the Chapter itself, had been made residuary legatee.

"We, Gustavus, &c., hereby testify that it has been made known to us how the good man Jacob, Dean of Åbo, has left a large sum of money, which he has bequeathed in his will according to his pleasure; but it is evident to any one who will duly consider the matter, that the said money could have been much better disposed of, than he has disposed of it; that is to say, that the greatest part of it might have been

[1] Riks. Reg. 1526, fol. 127; Thys., vol. i. p. 40.

applied to the public benefit, considering the burthen now lying upon the country, through the heavy debt occasioned by the war, which has been now a long time waged against King Christian. We therefore enjoin the Bishop and Chapter of Åbo to modify the said will according to our ideas, which we have already partly explained to his executors, so that, while his heirs, relations, and the poor, get the share that is given them, the rest may be applied, as far as it will go, to the payment of the debt; when that is done, we acquit his executors of all further claim from those interested in the said will, whosoever they may be."[1]

These arbitrary proceedings on the part of the King, his severity against the rebel Bishops, the famine which soon after followed, and which the ecclesiastics hailed as a judgment on his head, the heavy taxes and burthens imposed upon the people, awakened murmurs everywhere, and in Dalecarlia a rebellion.

A leader offered himself to the Dalesmen in the beginning of the year 1527, who pretended to be the son of the late Regent Sten Sturé. The youth whom he personated, it will be remembered, had been sent to Dantzic in 1520, and returned to Calmar at the same time that Gustavus procured the liberation of his mother. It appears that Von Mehlen had made use

[1] Swartsjö, 23rd August, 1526; R. R., fol. 127; Thys., vol. i. p. 41. As early as the year before he had ordered his lieutenant to take steps for securing him the horse and silver stoup of a priest who had died at Munktorp, in the diocese of Vesterâs.

of his presence to colour his own treason, and, still keeping up that pretext, had at his departure left in command of the fortress an old officer of the orphan's father.[1]

The real Sturé was, at the time his double appeared first in the Dales, at the court of Gustavus, who, as rumour falsely reported, had attempted his life. This rumour gave rise to the deception. The false Sturé pretended that he had escaped from the court of the tyrant, now turned Lutheran or heathen, who could not endure to look upon the rightful heir to the Crown, and whose violence placed his life in constant jeopardy. A soldier of the late Regent, Peter Grym,[2] assisted him in his part, which the rascal performed to perfection. He was the illegitimate son of a cottage wench in Westmanland, considerably older than the real Sturé, who was then only sixteen. No one could rightly say who was his father. His proper name was Jöns. He had been groom in the service of a nobleman, and when in that capacity had stolen forty marcs; but he was handsome, fluent, inventive, and of consummate assurance. Whenever he spoke of his pretended father, he spoke so well and wept so naturally, that the simple Dalesmen could not choose but weep with him. He thanked them for all the love they had shown his father. He bade them pray for his soul. He entreated that

[1] Tegel, 1527.

[2] Grym was taken in the Dales, tried at Stockholm in March, 1528, found guilty, and executed.—Dip. Dal. (669).

he might be his heir in their affections. After making a partial impression in his favour, especially in the three parishes of Mora, Ortså, and Lexand, he passed into Norway, where he was taken up by the Archbishop and the most illustrious persons of the kingdom; and having formed a court, appointed a chancellor, and issued a coinage, he was by the Archbishop's influence betrothed to the daughter of the Lady Ingerdt, a gentlewoman of large fortune and distinguished family. With the help obtained from Norway he returned to the Dales; but still opinions were divided, and in Hedemora, Skedari, and Huseby, they both remained true to the King and endeavoured to persuade the rebellious parishes to abandon the impostor. Christina Gyllenstjerna, at the King's request, wrote to the Dalesmen disowning her pretended son; but with his habitual effrontery the fellow said, "It was from shame that his mother disowned him, because he was born before marriage."[1]

After some skirmishing with the King's troops, the rebels came to a parley with the Commissioners whom he had sent to put down the insurrection. The Dalesmen thereupon sent to the King, who was at Upsala, a list of grievances, which he answered *seri-*

[1] Tegel, 1527. The fate of his Chancellor is recorded, Dip. Dal. (668), Stockholm, November 6th, 1527:—"On the same day was tried a priest named Laurentius Sigfridi, born here in the city, who had formerly belonged to the convent of Grey Friars. The provost accused him of having sided with the traitor of the Dales (the Daleyunker) and been his chancellor. He then confessed his deeds, and was accordingly condemned, first to the sword and afterwards to the wheel."

atim with exemplary patience, and sometimes with a quiet pleasantry.

To their complaint that there was no coin in circulation, but what was comparatively of a high value, he replied the coin in use had been struck to pay the foreign troops, but now that the war was over they should have a small coinage, if only that would content them. They complained that the mint at Vesterås was not at work. He answered that, owing to the falling off of the silver-mines, the mint at Stockholm was sufficient; if, however, the mines became more productive, he would again coin at Vesterås. To the charge of quartering troops upon convents, and imposing heavy imposts, he pleaded necessity, and the consent of the States. To the complaint that provisions were dear—that he had done his best to cheapen them, and that the graziers were losing money. To their murmur against the new fashion of slashed doublets, he answered that he disliked the fashion as much as any one, and should be glad to see it go out: himself and the other great Lords had the most reason to complain of it, as they had to give their retainers and pages more clothes now that they cut them in pieces. They said there was a design of restoring Archbishop Trollé. No doubt, replied the King, the priests desired this, and the return of King Christian too, and it was well that the common people should understand what they wanted, and not be so ready to follow their treasonable suggestions. They distinctly gave out that peasants would not fight against peasants. The King

applauded the sentiment, *except* where any of them would get up a rebellion: in such case not only might peasant fight against peasant, but even brother against brother. They informed the King that there was a great outcry against the Lutheranism preached at Stockholm, and against the psalms and hymns in Swedish which were used there. Gustavus answered that he knew nothing about Lutheranism; he had commanded the preaching of God's pure word, and put a stop to the cozenings and cajoleries of the priesthood, who thereupon had set up a cry of Lutheranism, meaning thereby not the people's advantage but their own. As to the hymns in Swedish, it seemed as reasonable to praise God in our mother-tongue as in Latin, which we do not understand: however, they sang in Latin in Stockholm now as formerly.[1] The King wondered, moreover, that the good men of the Dales would meddle with things beyond their capacity, which could best be settled by the State-council and learned clerks and prelates. But, no doubt, they had been put up to this by certain priests, who did not wish their own practices to be exposed, and would fain keep them still within their clutches. It were well that they did not trust them too confidently in such matters.[2] He concluded by inviting the Dalesmen to send representatives to the

[1] Tegel, 1527. Geijer says, vol. ii. p. 62, that the Latin mass was *abolished* in the capital in 1525; but certain *portions* at least had been retained or restored. Peringskiöld, Scond. Illust., tom. xv. p. 101, speaks doubtfully on the subject: "1525. Quando prima Suetice Missa Stocholmiæ fuisse dicitur celebrata."

[2] Tegel, 1527.

approaching great meeting at Vesterâs, *except* the King meant to obtain, if possible, the sanction of the States for taking more effectual measures against the power of the Church than any upon which he had yet ventured. In the interim it was agreed between the King and the Dalesmen, that they should lay down their arms and abandon the impostor, upon condition that he should be permitted to leave the kingdom unharmed, and that there should be a complete oblivion of all that had been attempted in his favour. When the Dalesmen, however, proposed to add to these conditions and stipulations—that the foreign fashions of slashed and particoloured clothes should not be used at court; that no new faith nor Lutheran doctrine should be introduced; and that those who ate meat on Good Fridays should be burnt or otherwise put to death, the King's patience and good humour appear to have been well nigh exhausted, and he answered "that he did not mean to be dictated to as to the dress of his household, and with respect to the two last points, he recommended them not to trouble themselves with what they did not understand." The Dalesmen, therefore, were compelled to withdraw these articles, and be content with the rest.[1] When the day appointed for the meeting at Vesterâs arrived, the muster was for that age very numerous. There were 4 Bishops, 4 Deans, 15 State-councillors, 129 Nobles, 32 Burghers (exclusive of the Town Council of Stock-

[1] Tegel, 1527.

holm, who were present and had a considerable influence upon the proceedings), 14 Bergsmen, and 105 Peasants from all parts of the kingdom, with the exception of the Dales, from whence the promised deputies did not appear, and from Finland, from whence none appear to have been summoned, though the resolutions of the meeting were accepted there as in the rest of the kingdom. The nobles came armed, by the King's desire. He reckoned upon their support in striking the decisive blow which he meditated.[1]

Gustavus opened the session on the Sunday before Midsummer-day with a magnificent banquet, and now appeared an unequivocal sign of his purpose to degrade the higher orders of the Church. The indignities offered to Knut and Sunnanväder might seem to have been prompted by their repeated treasons; the insults heaped upon Johannes Magnus to have been the reward of his personal vanity and folly; but now the King was determined that there should be no mistake; now the whole hierarchy was to be humbled; and whereas before they were wont to sit in the highest places—the Bishops even above the Regent of the kingdom—the place now assigned them was below the State-council and the chief of the nobility.[2]

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 67.

[2] Johannes Magnus says of the elder Sturé, "Pontifices sacerdotes Christi tantâ veneratione prosequebatur ut se nunquam—quamvis tot populorum princeps esset—prætulerit infimo Pontifici; immo inter pios et præclaros mores æstimabat, minores ecclesiæ prælatos, ut pote Præ-

The insulted order met the next day in the Church of St. Egidius, with bolted doors, to brood over the omen. Its purport (said Bishop Brask) was evident. It was the signal of the King's intention to take from them their revenues and castles, and degrade them to the level of mere parish priests. But to this—if they were wise—they would never give their concurrence. If indeed the King employed force to strip them of their possessions, there was no help for it; but let it not be with their consent. Many kings had attempted what Gustavus was now attempting, but had been destroyed by the thunders of the Church. Let them then remain true to the Pope, and they like others would in due time have their own again; but if they stood not up for the Church's privileges, the Pope would excommunicate them, and the King would look upon them as no better than serfs and cowards.

These arguments prevailed over the more timid or more moderate counsels of the Bishops of Vesterås and Strengness, who said, that if they had little to receive they should have little to spend, and professed themselves willing to submit to the King's pleasure.

At Brask's suggestion the assembled dignitaries signed a paper, in which they pledged themselves to protect the Church's rights, to be true to the Pope, never to adopt the Lutheran doctrines, and to wait with patience a change in the government. They

positos, Decanos, et similes, primas sedes nedum in templis sed in prætoriis, et aliis publicis locis eis concedere."—Lib. 23.

hid the document under the floor of the church, where fifteen years afterwards it was discovered.

The business of the meeting, which was held in the great hall of the Dominican convent, commenced by a report of the King, read on his behalf by the Chancellor.

The King, after thanking the States for having come at so much cost and trouble to the council, which for weighty reasons he had appointed, recalled to their recollection the earlier years of his government. He reminded them that "at Vadstena he had offered to resign the Regency; but finding that no one would undertake the office, he had conducted it in God's name, and to the best of the ability which God had given him. Observing the state of the kingdom at that time—Stockholm, Calmar, Stekeborg, and Finland being still in the hands of the enemy—he had been obliged to crave assistance from foreign lands, especially from Lubeck and the other Hanse towns. It was no easy thing, owing to Christian's connexion with the Emperor and the Margrave, to obtain what he wanted; but they had supplied him, at no small cost, with what he required of troops and arms, and the debt still remained altogether unliquidated. After the surrender of Stockholm, the nobles and people had chosen him King, and promised him all loyal support and obedience; and though he had made great opposition, chiefly owing to the unsteadiness which the Swedes were wont to observe in regard to their princes, and for fear the same game would be played with him as

with the others, yet, partly because he was then young, and believed the oaths and promises which they then made him on behalf of the whole kingdom, and partly because he thought that the Swedes, taught by past bitter experience, would thenceforth avoid disunion and conspiracies, and not hastily attempt any change, he had given his consent; of which he had often since repented. Who could rule a people that, as soon as a crime was punished, passed from hand to hand the signal for revolt? Who especially could rule the Dalesmen, who took every traitor under their protection, upon which these of course always counted, and so did what they pleased? Why should they be thus privileged, more than others, to disturb the peace of the kingdom? They complained indeed of the imposts which followed each other year after year; but the foreign war, and the internal disturbances of the kingdom, had occasioned them. Moreover, none had been levied without the consent of the State Council, or contrary to law. He had generally to thank the people that they were unwilling he should break his promise to the German towns. Why were the Dalesmen only indifferent? Why should they claim a greater freedom to rebel than the other good men of the kingdom? They boasted, forsooth, that they had placed his Grace on the throne—though after the victory at Vesterås, where the liberation was begun, but by no means completed, most of them went home again. Now they pretend that everything was done by

them; now they want to appoint and dismiss whom they please, and swaggeringly claim greater privileges than others, as if, in comparison with them, they were serfs and slaves. The German legates were there to demand their money. Let the Dalesmen and their abettors come and see whether they were content to be paid in rebellions. They laid to his charge the dearness of salt, of corn, and cloth—which he had done his best to cheapen—as if he were a god, and everything were in his power. They complained that he had quartered troops on towns and convents, as if necessity did not justify unusual measures. They cried out that he had pillaged monasteries and churches, which merely meant that assistance had been obtained of them to lighten the burthens of the people; but this too had been with the consent of the State Council, and might well *be, seeing that the people had accumulated this wealth, and that it was their own.* It was imputed to him that he was bringing in a new religion, only because he and many more had found out how they had been deceived, and in many things oppressed, by the ecclesiastics, who exalt the Pope of Rome. The rulers of the kingdom had been too long obliged to put up with the insults of warlike and turbulent prelates, such as Gustavus Trollé, who had threatened to use sharper weapons against Sten Sturé than bock and candle. The Regent could support only 500 soldiers from the resources of the state, because the Crown and nobles had only a third part of the landed property, while

priests or monks, churches or convents, had all the rest. He confessed that he permitted the preaching of God's word and gospel, and some of the preachers were here ready to defend their doctrine; the prelates of the Church, however, would not listen to them, but relied upon ancient custom, right or wrong. It was falsely and shamelessly said of him that he wanted no priests in the country; he hoped to die a Christian; he knew that teachers could not be dispensed with, and he wished to place them everywhere, providing they did their duty; but with respect to those, who did not perform their functions for the public good, he should consult the States. For his part, he was ready to abdicate his throne, take a fief instead, and thank them for the honour they had done him; but if Sweden would have a king, he must have means to support his power. The new style of warfare which had arisen in other countries demanded larger outlays: the fortresses of the kingdom were in decay or ruin; the King's revenues were withheld, when every man was lord of his own castle. Besides the nobles were so impoverished, that they could not fulfil their obligation of protecting the realm, and were continually asking, and no wonder, for new fiefs. The customs had vanished, the silver and copper mines fallen off, food for the towns had failed, and for the miserable remains of trade town and country squabbled with each other. Such evils demanded a medy, whosoever was to rule over the kingdom."

When this address had been read, and the King had demanded an answer of the nobles and bishops, Turé Johnson, the senior of the Council, who the year before had been made High Steward, requested that Bishop Brask might be allowed to give his opinion. The Bishop thereupon said, "that he was well aware of the allegiance which he owed the King; but he and all his order were equally bound to obey the Pope in things spiritual, and that without his concurrence he could not consent to any change of doctrine, nor to any diminishing of the Church's rights and possessions. If unscrupulous priests had sought to enrich themselves, by working upon the superstitions of the laity—a course which the heads of the Church themselves condemned—let such cases be proved and punished."

The King asked the State councillors and nobles if this reply seemed to them sufficient. Turé Johnson said that he could not but think that the Bishop's answer was in the main right, though not a complete reply to all that the King had brought forward.

"Then," said Gustavus, "I desire no longer to be your king. We had anticipated another answer; but we cannot marvel that the common people show us so much disobedience and discontent, when they have such abettors here. If rain fails them they blame *us*,—if sunshine fails them they do the same. Comes there famine, pestilence, we are made responsible. Ye would all fain be our masters. You place monks and priests, and the creatures of the Pope,

over our head; and for all our labour on your behalf, the only recompence we have to look for is, that we should with your good will lay down our head upon the scaffold, though not one of you would bell the cat as we have done. Who upon such conditions would be your king? Not the most wretched in hell, much less any human being. Therefore choose another king; and if you can find one to please you in all things and at all times, we shall rejoice. Only you must remember to dismiss us from the kingdom with honesty, and repay us all that we have expended for it out of our own funds, and from our paternal and maternal inheritance. Let that be done, and then we promise you to leave the country and return no more."

The King here burst into tears, and left the hall.

When he was gone a deep silence reigned throughout the assembly. At last the Chancellor came forward, and invited them, in the great difficulty in which they were placed, to offer up their united prayers to God for his guidance. He said, "We have only this alternative, to choose either to follow the King, as he has proposed, and entreat him to carry on the government, or to pay him what he has expended for the State, and choose another king." They were, however, too much confounded at the scene they had witnessed to determine anything that day. Turé Johnson alone put on an appearance of courage, and, as he marched to his lodging to the sound of the drum, exclaimed, "I defy any one to make me

Lutheran, heretic, or heathen this year." But when the next day the meeting would decide nothing, some of the peasants grew impatient, and said, if all things were well considered, Gustavus had done them no injury, and that, unless the nobles soon settled something, they should take the matter into their own hands. The merchants and shopkeepers supported the peasants, and the burghers of Stockholm declared that at any rate they should hold that city for the King's behoof.[1] Magnus Sommar, Bishop of Strengness, declared finally that the ministers of the Church wished not to be so protected as thereby to leave the kingdom a prey to their most inveterate enemies. Many thanked him for his speech, and said they would have no king but Gustavus, and prayed that they might hear the disputed points of the two religions discussed in their presence, so that even laymen might have some light upon the subj[illegible] Olaus Petri and Peter Gallé accordingly ar[illegible] together until late in the day; the latter in L[illegible] until the threats of the peasants—who, if they [illegible] Latin prayers, did not like Latin speeches—com[illegible] him to speak Swedish.

In the mean time the King held his court a[illegible] Castle, surrounded by his military staff, and, a[illegible] careless of the issue, passed his time in various [illegible] versions.

On the third day the burghers and peasants said

[1] The King rewarded their zeal by a confirmation of their privileges on the 28th June.—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 39.

to the nobles that, if they chose to be the occasion of their and the kingdom's ruin, they would try, with the King's help, to punish and ruin *them*, and that they had already sent a message to the King, acquainting him with their resolution. Upon this the nobles of Westgothland, and especially Magnus Brynteson (Liliehök), entreated Turé Johnson not to oppose the King so rigidly, "for much ill might come of it;" to which Johnson replied, "that he was willing this time to give in to the King, provided he did not lead him into any heresy."

Lars Anderson and Olaus Petri were now sent off to entreat Gustavus still to hold the reins of government. They were met with a short and sharp refusal, and on their return prayed that, if any further communication were to be made to the King, it might be by other messengers.

Knut Anderson and the Bishop of Strengness then undertook the task, but came back unsuccessful. After this the anxiety became intense. Deputation after deputation was sent to the castle, entreating, with tears, that the King would at least honour them with his presence. For a long while he still held out, and, when he at length relented, he sent a message, saying that he could not meet the States that day, but would do so on the day following. At the appointed time he appeared in the hall of assembly, accompanied by the State Council and a splendid life-guard. The joy was now proportionate to the previous anxiety; the common people were ready to

kiss his feet, and the three estates of nobles, burghers, and peasants, with one voice sanctioned all his demands.[1]

[1] The account of this important meeting I have taken chiefly from Tegel, 1527.—Vide etiam Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 38; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 68.

CHAPTER VIII.

Decrees of Vesterås — Uncontrolled power over Church property given to Gustavus — Privileges of the clergy curtailed — Public declaration of the States — Opposition and death of the Bishop of Linköping — Surrender of tithes — Complaint to Gustavus of non-fulfilment by him of part of the Ordinances — Evacuation and destruction of monasteries — Downfall of the monastic system, and its consequences — Nicolaus Amundi, a monk of Vadstena — Diary of Vadstena convent.

GUSTAVUS had played a game in which he had staked his throne against the wealth and power of the clergy, but the odds had been well calculated, and he had won the cast. The decrees of the memorable meeting at Vesterås, dated Midsummer-day, 1527, placed the property of the Church, and all its offices, completely in the King's power. The first of these decrees, which was called 'Vesterås Recess,' provided that the revenues of the Church should thenceforward be made available to increase the revenues of the Crown; that the Bishops should "ride with only so many attendants"—in other words, should have only such income—as the King should prescribe; that they should agree with him as to the proportion of their revenues to be paid him, and should give up the castles and fortresses which they then held; that a similar composition should be made with the Deans

and Canons of the several cathedrals; and, "seeing that in those monasteries which were supported by rent from lands there had been for a long time a relaxed discipline, chiefly from their having had feeble superiors, so that the monasteries were falling into decay, and their lands lying waste," it was decreed that the King should assign them to his nobles, to provide out of the rents for the support of the religious orders, and to reserve the surplus for the service of the Crown; that the Bishops should not interfere with the management of the monasteries, nor burthen them with guests; and that, when they came to officiate at the consecration of nuns, the King's lieutenant should determine with what retinue they should be accompanied. It provided, moreover, that lands alienated since Charles Knutson's inquest should be recovered, for less or more, according as they had been for a longer or shorter time alienated, if only the claimants could establish their right in the proper court before a jury and in the presence of the defendants, and that the nobles should moderate their demands upon the King in consequence of this privilege, and render service to the Crown for the possessions which they might recover. The limit 1454 to be applicable only to those lands (*frälsejord*) upon which no quit-rent had been reserved; lands paying a quit-rent (*skattejord*) to be recoverable after any period of alienation.[1]

[1] Tegel, 1527.

The appendix to the Recess, called 'Vesterås Ordinantia,' included the following provisions:—

That the Bishops should fill up the vacant benefices; but if they should appoint murderers, drunkards, or such as should be unable to preach God's word, that these might be displaced, and others of the King's appointment substituted.

That of the money taken for Church censures an account should be kept, and that neither the Bishop nor his officers should be so ready as heretofore to inflict those censures upon trifling occasions. That the fines for fornication, &c., should be paid to the King, and not to the Bishop. That no fines should be taken for working on Saints' days. That the Bishops should render the King an account of their revenues, that he might settle what proportion they should retain, and how much pay for the King's behoof.

That the clergy should plead and be impleaded, in secular matters, before the temporal courts, and that their former temporal jurisdiction should be abolished. That the property of deceased clergymen should fall to their lawful heirs, not to the Bishops. That the mendicant friars, "seeing that in truth they carry through the country many deceptions and lies," should leave their convents only for ten weeks in the year, five in the summer and five in the winter; and should take from the Provost, or Burgomaster, a pass when they left their convents, and appear before them on their return. That monks who had

other resources should not go out to beg. That sick persons should not be forced by the priests to make a will. That the clergy should not withhold the sacrament at Easter, or at any other time, for debts due to themselves. Finally, that the Gospel should be taught in all schools, "as well it may, seeing that they are schools for Christians."[1]

The secular orders of the States endeavoured to reconcile the people to the decrees by a public declaration of their object, bearing the date of the meeting. The monasteries having fallen into decay through the feeble government of incompetent superiors, they had permitted the King to put a good man to govern them, and to find for the monks and nuns a suitable maintenance, that divine service might not go down. They had lessened the power of the Bishops, and thus made them less formidable to the Crown, and their revenues would render the King's calls upon the people for help less frequent. They deprecated the idea that either the King or themselves wished to get rid of Bishops; they only wished them to be less powerful, that they might the better set forth God's word. They observed at the same time, that the new preachers, for protecting whom the King was so much blamed, "preached only the pure Gospel which the Holy Fathers preached, who first brought Christianity into the country."

The prelates, who after that day were not again summoned to the States-meetings, did not sign the

[1] Tegel, 1527.

decrees, but in a separate act declared that they would not oppose what had been agreed to so unanimously, and that, however rich or poor his Grace would have them to be, they were content.

When the decrees were signed, Tynnelsö castle was demanded by the King from the Bishop of Strengness, who surrendered it without opposition. The Bishop of Skara in like manner gave up the fortress of Läckö, not venturing to object. But when the King turned to the Bishop of Linköping, and asked him to surrender the castle of Munkeboda (now Norsholm), he was met with a silence which did *not* imply consent; and Turé Johnson's prayer that in consideration of the advanced age of the Bishop he might be allowed to retain the fortress till his death, was answered by a decided refusal. The King now not only demanded the immediate surrender, but that the Bishop should not leave the town until the castle were in the hands of the appointed commissioners. Forty of his retainers were called forward on the spot, and made to pass into the service of the Crown, and he himself was compelled to find sureties that neither he nor his adherents should attempt anything against the peace of the kingdom.[1]

It is no small proof of the consideration in which this prelate was held by the chief of the nobility, that eight members of the State-council consented to be bound on his behalf. The events of that day told upon none of the Church dignitaries with greater

[1] Tegel, 1527; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 38; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 75.

bitterness than upon him. A firm and even bigoted Churchman, jealous for the authority of his order, jealous for his own prerogatives, and severe in the vindication of both, he appears to have discharged the duties of his episcopal office with a dignity and diligence suitable to his commanding abilities and to the general respectability of his character. But the system which he had adorned and defended—after his manner—was broken in pieces. His own power had passed away. The wealth which he had employed in importing into his country the literature, the arts, and sciences of more enlightened realms had been given to another. Nothing, as he thought, remained to him but to fly from a scene every object of which was fraught with bitter recollections, and to seek for sympathy and succour in some happier land. The great obstacle to this project was the bail which the King had compelled him to give for his loyal behaviour; but from this he soon contrived to set himself free. Gustavus having come to Linköping, the Bishop prepared for him there a splendid entertainment, and received him with so much cheerfulness and seeming cordiality, that the King released him from his sureties, and gave him a full and complete pardon and assurance of favour under hand and seal.[1] Having regained the confidence of his sovereign, the Bishop suggested that it would be a pity should the spiritual sway of Sweden over Gothland

[1] Tegel, 1527. The deed is dated "Vadstena, August 2, 1527."—Riks. Reg., fol. 253; Thys., vol. i. p. 105.

be lost together with the temporal, and prayed that he might be allowed to make a visitation in the island in order to avert the double calamity. The King, suspecting no ulterior design, gave his consent, when the Bishop, gathering from the cathedrals, monasteries, and parish churches all the gold and silver he could extract from them, embarked with it at Söderköping and set sail for Gothland. On his arrival there he added to his store, and from thence conveyed himself and his accumulated treasure to a convent in Dantzic.[1] At this point he almost disappears as a prominent personage from the stage of history. We hear, indeed, of two cutters fitted out by him, of divers letters written by him, and of an intrigue in which he participated for transferring the Crown of Sweden from Gustavus to a Catholic prince. But in quitting the post of danger, he had quitted in a great degree the post of influence, and verified the law, that the fruits of critical opportunities belong to those only who are at hand, and on the alert, to seize them.[2] He died in the convent of Leuda, in Poland, on his way to Italy, in 1538, having left to his countrymen many suggestions in worldly matters, which, while they wisely neglected his spiritual counsels, they, and their descendants long afterwards, found it to their advantage to carry out.[3]

[1] Tegel, 1527.

[2] "φύσει δ' ὑπάρχει τοῖς παροῦσι τὰ τῶν ἀπόντων, καὶ τοῖς ἐθέλουσι πονεῖν καὶ κινδυνεύειν τὰ τῶν ἀμελούντων."—Demosthenis Philipp., I., tom. iv., Orat. Attici, p. 46, ed. Bekker.

[3] Tegel, 1527. He was elected to the see of Linköping in 1513 (Diar. Vadst.); upon which occasion the chronicler, instead of the

Immediately after the congress at Vesterås the result of its deliberations was published throughout the kingdom, and Gustavus sent commissioners to the principal churches and monasteries to take charge of all documents relative to their estates and revenues.

The tithes under the old régime had been divided into three equal parts, one of which was allotted to the incumbent. The remaining two-thirds again underwent a tripartite division, of which one share, called the Bishop's tithe, was allotted to the diocesan; a second, called the Church tithe, was applied to the maintenance of the fabric and the celebration of divine service in the parish church; the remaining share, which was appropriated originally to the maintenance of the poor, and had thence been called the Poor's-tithe, after it had been diverted to the use of the canons in the cathedrals changed its name in accordance with its new application. The church and canons' tithes were now at once claimed for the services of the state, with the exception of certain measures (*tunnor*) of corn reserved to the parish church under the name of Church-wine-and-building-grain. The bishops, for some time after the decree had passed, paid a certain toll out of their tithe to the Crown, but finally surrendered it, and received instead a stated income.[1] Many of the monasteries were granted as fiefs to different nobles, upon condition of supporting the monks and nuns, and paying

"Deo gratias" with which he hails an election thoroughly satisfactory, adds to his record, "Utinam ad Dei laudem."

[1] Bruzelii Hist., p. 269. A tunna = 2 spannus = 4⅛ Winchester bushels.

a rent to the Crown from the surplus revenues: in some cases the abbots were permitted to remain at the head of their convents upon similar conditions.[1] The article of the ordinances at Vesterås, however, which provided for the maintenance of the existing members of the religious houses, "that they might serve and praise God," was kept very imperfectly. The States assembled at Upsala in 1528 complained to Gustavus that, instead of observing that article, he had induced monks and nuns to leave their convents and to marry, and had expelled others, whose conduct had been reprehensible, instead of leaving them to the chastisement of their ecclesiastical superiors. In the following year Gustavus denied that he had, either personally or by his officers, made any expulsions, except in the case of some foreign monks; but the denial was still further qualified by the addition that, "if either he or they had done so, they would answer for it; he hoped, however, that no such case would be proved."[2]

Notwithstanding this denial it cannot be doubted that certain devices, savouring more or less of compulsion, were occasionally made use of to accelerate the slow processes of time and death, and give the King an earlier possession of some of the monasteries, than the decrees of Vesterås had contemplated. There was a good deal of variety in the mode of

[1] Thus in August of this year a composition was made with the abbot of Alvastra and with the abbess and convent of Vadstena.—Thys., vol. i. pp. 117, 118.

[2] Tegel, 1529.

operation. Thus in August, 1527, the nuns of St. Clara at Stockholm, being formally summoned, evacuated their convent, which was then pulled down, on the plea that it afforded shelter to an enemy besieging the capital. They found, however, an asylum in the Franciscan convent, which had probably lost its inmates.[1] In the following month the Dominicans were reduced by famine. When they complained that they had no means of subsistence they were advised to seek it elsewhere, "seeing that hunger made men give up towns and castles, much more monasteries."[2] Soon after their convent was levelled to the ground, and the site converted into a royal garden.[3] In the summer of 1528 the monks of Vesterås surrendered by capitulation, the prior being made dean of the cathedral, and "those who were fit" appointed to parochial churches in the country: the rest seem to have been left without provision.[4] In respect to the inmates of other monasteries, some quitted voluntarily, some with an unwilling willingness. Under one or other of these conditions the Franciscans of Iönköping deserted their convent, which was afterwards first made use of as an hotel for lepers and then as a powder manufactory.[5]

It may well be permitted us to rejoice over the downfall of the monastic system in Sweden. Apart

[1] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 40.

[2] Stockholm's Stad's Tänkebok, v. Tvoil; Handlingar, 2 Del. s. 283, apud Geijer, vol. ii. p. 77.

[3] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 40.

[4] Tegel, 1528.

[5] Scond. Illust., tom. v.

from the superstitions with which that system in the Roman Catholic Church is practically combined, it is a system ill suited, generally speaking, to the frailty of human nature. It is dangerous to some even of those who adopt it from the compunctious visitings of conscience, or from the enthusiasm of religious feeling. It is a most perilous snare to all whom a momentary disgust with the world, or the will or persuasion of others, or an indolent temper, induces or compels to embrace it.

The discipline of the convents in Sweden in the fourteenth century had been shamefully relaxed. It had called forth the pious zeal of St. Bridget, and given rise to the religious order which bears her name;[1] and, without giving too much credit to those sweeping charges which Gustavus was wont to make against such establishments when reproached on their account or about to grasp their possessions,[2] we may

[1] "Nunc autem abusionem in se continent nimis gravem in eo, quod portæ indifferenter clericis et laicis, quibus placet sororibus introitum dare, etiam in ipsis noctibus sunt apertæ. Et ideo talia loca similiora sunt lupanaribus, quam sanctis claustris."—S. Bergitt, Revel., lib. iv. cap. 33, in Appendix to Diar. Vads., p. 226.

[2] We have a specimen of his accusations of another class in a letter to the Abbess of Sko convent, where his niece had died:—

"Stockholm, 30th October, 1527.

"We have heard that our niece has been taken from this world—God be gracious to her soul! We thank you for the care and trouble you have had in providing for her and her sister's welfare. But that you seduced a simple and innocent child on her deathbed to ask to assume your Pharisaical habit, *that* we praise not, well knowing that there is no more sanctity in your habit than in any other, though the members of your and many other orders have employed such-like and different devices for a fish-hook to drag towards them the estates and

well believe that the inherent defects of the system appeared among them from time to time in the shape of breaches of chastity. On the other hand, it is impossible to hold Gustavus always and altogether blameless, when the aged monks and nuns were driven to beg their bread, and when the younger nuns, often without a paternal home or any other refuge, and with no safeguard from experience, became in great numbers the prey of the seducer, and fell among the most degraded of their sex. Such things must be lamented, however large a share in the causation of their suffering we attribute to the sufferers themselves. But a more respectful compassion is due to those better members of the religious orders whose keenest sufferings in their destitution were those of the mind—who in the midst of "a relaxed discipline" had kept themselves unspotted, and now looked back with unavailing regret to that life, which they had found a life of safe retirement, quiet study, charitable labour, and earnest, though in some degree misdirected, devotion.[1] In the better regulated monasteries there had always been a few of this character.

money of those whom they have cajoled."—Riks. Reg., fol. 272; Thys., vol. i. p. 130.

[1] It may be well to remember here Donne's admonition—"Unseasonable prayers, though, because they be rooted in piety, they may be in some sort excusable in him that makes them, yet may be unacceptable to God. St. Augustine prayed for a dead mother, Monica, and St. Ambrose prayed for a dead master, Theodosius; God forbid we should condemn Augustine or Ambrose of impiety in doing so, but God forbid we should make Augustine or Ambrose's example our rule to do so still!"—Works, vol. i. p. 103, Alford's ed.

Among the "idle monks" of the convent of Vadstena there had not only been some of indefatigable industry, and skilled in the higher branches of art, as in glass-painting and architecture, but some of an unfeigned devotion, of great self-denial, zealous and effective preachers, and one so eloquent that his brethren—less strong no doubt in Greek than in their affectionate partiality—regarded him as another Chrysostom. Not the least among the latest worthies of this society seems to have been Nicolaus Amundi, who in the year 1517 records, in terms of great humility, his own election to be confessor-general of the convent, an office to which he was thrice re-elected, for the last time in 1540.[1] The society had previously chosen him as one of their agents to conduct a difficult negotiation. In 1529, by the King's command, he was sent out with two colleagues to dispute with the Lutherans at the Council of Örebro. He wrote a Discourse between Christ and a Sinner, which is still preserved in the library at Stockholm, and probably continued, or rather assisted in continuing, the Diary of the convent till its close. It was evidently no pleasant task in those days of trial to whomsoever it was committed: to tell, for example,

[1] "Eodem anno 1517, concorditer est electus in confessorem generalem fr. Nicolaus Amundi indignissimus hominum quod protestor manu propriâ. In laboribus a juventute meâ exaltatus autem humiliatus sum et conturbatus."—Diar. Vads., p. 215. He presented a picture of the Virgin to the convent, the record of which event not being made by himself, he is called therein "pater *pius* Nicolaus Amundi."

that in 1524 the King "extorted" from the convent the shrine of St. Catherine,[1] and in a month afterwards twelve marks of silver from the sacristy; that in 1529 the commissioners sent to Örebro to confer on the Lutheran doctrines "came back disturbed;" that in 1531 two nuns, "*expelled* from their own convent *by the Lutherans*," had found shelter at Vadstena; that in 1540 the King's commissioners prohibited in the convent the commemoration of saints and all ceremonies appertaining thereto, *nisi pro pace;* that on Trinity Sunday in the same year the first Swedish mass was celebrated, and that, when the service was over, the commissioners, proceeding to the sacristy, took an inventory of the chalices, relics, and pixes belonging to the house; that in 1543 the King came in person, and that by his directions his servants carried off a large number of books, and *the stone image of the Virgin*, which was near the altar.

Hitherto only a single expression here and there had betrayed the feelings of the annalist. But when he has to record that, on the 6th of October in that same year, the Lutheran Bishop of Linköping, accompanied by several clergymen, came and put an end to the accustomed service, the invocation of saints,

[1] He *borrowed* this, which weighed 340 lbs. of silver, and was, besides, richly encrusted with gold, upon a promise of faithfully returning the value. The promise may have been sincere, but it was not kept. "A Vastenensium Antistita argenteum S. Catharinæ loculum, ex illo monetam signaturus, obtinet, indubiam spondens et nullam rependens solutionem."—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 18.

prayers and offerings for the dead, the carrying about of lustral water, the use of tapers, salt, and incense in divine worship, the good monk can refrain no longer, and he exclaims, in the bitterness of his sorrow and indignation, "Therefore let his days be few, and his bishopric let another take." His own task was nearly done. In the next year there are but three entries in the Diary. In 1545 one only, the last! It is significant: "The townspeople carried off all the convent wall on the south side."[1]

The monks were soon after suppressed; but the convent, spared on account of the beauty of the building, continued during the whole of Gustavus's reign an asylum for the nuns. In 1555, the abbess having complained that the provision assigned them by the King had been withholden by his officers because she had not his written authority, this authority was given on the 8th of April in that year.[2] In 1568 the remaining nuns obtained letters of protection from King Eric, and the final dissolution of the convent was deferred until 1595, when Charles the Ninth, after burying his brother, Duke Magnus, at Vadstena, gave the nuns the option of embracing the evangelical religion or leaving, when some married, and some took refuge in a convent in Dantzic.[3]

[1] Diarium Vadstenese ab anno 1344 ad ann. 1545, vol. i., p. 99, Scrip. Rerum Suec.

[2] Riks. Reg., fol. 54; Thys., vol. ii. p. 385; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 100.

[3] Rhyzelii Monasteriologia Sueogothica, Linköping, 1740.

CHAPTER IX.

Coronation of Gustavus — Continued discontent in the Dales — Execution of the Daleyunker and his council — Religious reforms — Contest with the High Steward — Insurrection — Its causes — The Westgothlanders refuse to join — Act of oblivion — The King's defence of his proceedings — Execution of Brynteson and Olfson.

IT seemed desirable to exhibit in juxta-position some of the principal features of the decline and fall of the monastic system in Sweden. But, in doing so, the regular course of this narrative has been interrupted, and we must now retrace our steps.

After the victory at Vesterås, Gustavus thought that the time had arrived to celebrate his coronation, which, though a tax to meet the expenses had been imposed at Vadstena in 1526, had hitherto been delayed. A preliminary council was held at Upsala to make the requisite arrangements, when the King, "before finally binding himself to the government, requested the assembled States to send in their written complaint, if they had anything to urge against him, professing himself much more willing now to resign than that at any future time any disturbance should arise on his account." The Council, while they urged that the coronation ought not to be procrastinated, availed themselves nevertheless of the King's

gracious permission. The grievance they most complained of was the non-maintenance of the religious orders, according to the decrees of Vesterås; but they complained also that marriages were not celebrated with suitable masses, as of old, and they prayed that the King would inflict due punishment on those convicted of eating flesh on Good Friday, from which step they augured that "much disturbance would cease, which otherwise might become formidable."[1]

The coronation took place at Upsala on the 12th of February, 1528, when the High Steward, Turé Johnson (Ros), bore the globe, Lars Siggéson (Sparré) the sword, and Holger Carlson (Geré)—who in the following year obtained Stekeborg and its dependencies as a fief—the sceptre: contrary to usual custom no one bore the crown; it stood upon the high altar, Gustavus perhaps thereby meaning to claim it as specially bestowed upon him from Heaven. Lars Siggéson, Berger Nilson, Eric Fleming, John Turéson, Magnus Brynteson, Nils Olfson, Thuré Erickson, Knut Anderson, Magnus Johnson, Bennet Nilson, and Peter Hardy, received the honour of knighthood from the King's hand. Tournaments and other knightly sports graced the ceremony, during which a herald scattered gold and silver pieces among the people.[2]

The Dalesmen continued to be discontented and tur-

[1] Tegel, 1528. In England, at the beginning of the Reformation, pains and penalties were invoked on those who had "cheese and butter" in their houses on Good Friday.—Burnet, Hist. Reformation, book i.

[2] Tegel, 1528; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 41.

bulent, and still maintained a correspondence with the impostor, who had fled to Norway.

The King, therefore, resolved both to alarm his abettors in the latter country, and to punish those who had supported him in the Dales. He had already obtained, in respect to the Norwegians, the good offices of Denmark, from whence an injunction had been sent to the Archbishop of Drontheim, in 1527, directing him to send back to Sweden the Dale-yunker, as the false Sturé was commonly called, and the other malefactors who had found a refuge across the border. He now assembled an army of 14,000 men, and wrote to the Dalesmen on the 14th, and again on the 18th of February, that his intention was to march to the frontier, and learn whether his enemies were to find in Norway, not only protection, but encouragement. He meant also to hold an assize at Tuna on Ash Wednesday (26th February), when justice should be done to all who had suffered injury from himself or his lieutenants. If there were any one among them who knew himself guilty, he should yet be free to come to the assize, and return from it without molestation or danger.[1]

When the people on the appointed day were assembled from the Dale districts in great numbers the King surrounded them with his troops, and pointed his field-pieces against them. The assize then opened with a letter from the rest of the people to the Dalesmen, stating that "they had counselled

[1] Riks. Reg., fol. 306; Dip. Dal. 412, 413.

the King to investigate the origin of the late uproar, that its instigators might be punished." Magnus Brynteson followed in a set speech. He dwelt upon the King's clemency in the affair of Knut and Sunnanväder, and still more recently in the case of the thief impostor whom they had aided and abetted. The Dalesmen interrupted him by thankfully acknowledging the King's grace; they professed, however, at the same time, that they were unconscious of having given any fresh cause of displeasure. "Their rebellious spirit," answered Brynteson, "still continued; it showed itself in the manner with which they treated the King's officers and spoke of the King himself. If they had their deserts," he affirmed, "not one would reach his home alive."

The intercession of the State Council now being earnestly invoked by the Dalesmen, at their request the peasants of those parishes, who had remained loyal to the King, were separated from those, who had taken part in the rebellion. The King then demanded of the last that the Daleyunker's council and chief supporters should be given up, which being done a short trial took place, and those found guilty were immediately executed. The other offenders then fell upon their knees and implored the King's mercy,—a boon not granted, however, without some apparent hesitation on his side and renewed assurances of loyalty on theirs.[1]

In the mean time the letters from Denmark and

[1] Tegel, 1528; Scond. Illust., tom. i. p. 44.

others from Gustavus himself, threatening the Archbishop with severe chastisement if he continued to harbour and encourage Swedish malefactors, produced their due effect. Some of the criminals were sent back to Sweden, and the false Stüré, whom the Archbishop could no longer shield, yet was unwilling to abandon, was put on board a vessel bound to Rostock, where he gave himself out for a knight, and was at first treated with the consideration due to his pretended character; but Gustavus, having learnt his place of refuge, sent his German secretary to take proceedings against him. He was in consequence tried in that city, according to some accounts for his treasons, according to others for the forty marks he had stolen from Knut Anderson, and being found guilty was beheaded.[1]

One of those grievous famines by which Sweden was then frequently visited happened this year. It was of such severity that not only were the people generally compelled to eat bark-bread, but in Roslagen and Skäriegården many perished with hunger. Gustavus alleviated in some degree this horrible calamity by importing from Livonia large quantities of meal, which was sold in the different market-towns in succession at a half-mark the *spann* or *half-tunna*.[2]

While thus providing for the bodily wants of his

[1] Tegel, 1528.

[2] Ibid. The meal was probably barley-meal, and the price exactly half of that at which the same sort of meal was selling in Dalecarlia in 1549. See Appendix on "Value of Money and Commodities in Sweden in the reign of Gustavus."

people, Gustavus did not fail to make provision for another class of wants of which they were less sensible.

At a meeting of the Bishops and principal clergy held at Örebro in 1529, over which Lars Anderson presided, a better provision was made for the preaching of the pure word of God throughout the realm. One lesson from the Scriptures, at least, with a good and sound explanation, was ordered to be read daily in the cathedrals and public schools—the lectures in the schools to be so arranged that the choristers might have an opportunity of attending. Learned preachers were to be appointed in the towns, to whom all the rural preachers might resort for instruction.[1] Afternoon lectures to be held in the monasteries. Sermons to be begun and ended with prayer. At every preaching, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, and the Ave Maria (which it was not thought prudent yet to set aside) were to be repeated; the Ten Commandments once or twice a month. The Penitentiaries were at the same time recommended and empowered to use more sharpness with manslayers and other misdoers. As the frequent holidays gave occasion to many sins, it was ordered that our Lord's own festivals, the Virgin's, the Apostles', and those of the patron saints should be retained, the rest

[1] One of the evangelical teachers, when about to expound the Gospel of St. Matthew at Skara, was set upon by the populace, instigated by the Bishop and nobles of Westgothland, and severely handled.—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 45.

abolished. A few words were added to correct the superstitious notions current about baptism, Palm-Sunday, Candlemas, Christmas, bell-ringing, &c. Finally, the people were instructed that "the use of pilgrimages is not to offer God a more acceptable service, seeing that He can be served in one place as well as another, but to increase our knowledge."[1]

The forced consent which the High Steward had been compelled to give to the decrees of Vesterås had probably left behind it no good will towards Gustavus; but in the next year a personal contest between them, in which the former was worsted, produced the most determined enmity. The King claimed some lands to which the High Steward had succeeded, on the ground that they had been wrongfully and forcibly obtained from his father by Sten Sturé the elder. His claim being allowed, the haughty and powerful nobleman murmured loudly; and in the spring of 1529 himself and seven other Westgothland lords—of whom Magnus Brynteson especially had enjoyed a considerable share of the King's favour and confidence—together with Magnus Bishop of Skara, joined an insurrection begun by the Smålanders, with the Burgomaster and Town Council of Iönköping at their head. The insurgents had already captured the King's sister, the wife of the Count of Hoya—who was returning to Stockholm from Saxony, where she had been to negotiate the King's marriage—and slain the commandant of

[1] Tegel, 1529.

Nydala convent, with three others of the King's officers.[1]

Godfrey Suré, the commandant of Nydala, obtained the King's letters investing him with that monastery and its estates on the 4th of March, and as the rebellion broke out within a month of that time, it is probable that indignation at the measure was the immediate cause of the rising.[2] Turé Johnson, however, had, there is little doubt, fostered the feeling of discontent prevalent in the district, and prepared the minds of the younger nobles to revolt with him on the first convenient opportunity. His influence over them was not due to any superiority of understanding. On the contrary, he seems to have been of that stamp of mind, obstinate, shortsighted, and self-important, which furnishes the tools of a conspiracy, rather than its leaders. But his great possessions, high rank, and birth, together with his age, caused his treasonable suggestions to be readily listened to, especially as they were enforced by considerations which came home to the self-interest of those whom he addressed.

In the partition of the lands recovered from the Church Gustavus came in for an enormous share. Connected by blood with the most distinguished

[1] Tegel, 1529. Letter from the Burgomaster and Council of Lönköping and the Commons of Småland to Eastgothland, 4th April, 1529. —R. R., fol. 12; Thys., vol. i. p. 176. The same to the Bishop of Skara, Turé Johnson, &c., and the Commons of Westgothland, inviting them to rise against Gustavus, 8th April, 1529.—Thys., vol. i. p. 179.

[2] Riks. Reg., fol. 7; Thys., vol. i. p. 174.

families in Sweden, he had a colourable claim to many of the estates which had been alienated since the inquest of Charles Knutson, and it would often happen, that such claims prevailed to the discomfiture of those, who judged that they had the better title.[1] That this was accomplished by underhand means, and that the King, after having made the nobles parties to the spoliation of the Church, meant to share them out, were dangerous suggestions to men who remembered the former power of their order, and now saw that the hope of recovering its independence was dashed to the ground. But besides this, Magnus Brynteson was tempted to join the conspiracy by the bait of succeeding to the throne from which Gustavus was to be expelled, and the other young leaders doubtless by the expectation of some of the chief spoils of the victory.[2]

When the High Steward wrote to his three sons to join the insurrection, two of them, instead of complying, travelled day and night to put into the hands of the King their father's letter. Not so the younger son, George, the Dean of Upsala. He obeyed the summons with alacrity, and marching into Norland captured the King's lieutenant. His progress was

[1] "Peringskjöld (who is a high authority) says that Gustavus obtained in virtue of Vesterâs ordinantia 20,000 prædia ecclesiastica, church and convent estates, exclusive of money."—Rhyzel. Monast. Sueogothica.

[2] "Thuro consensu reliquorum commilitonum Magnum Bruntonis virum corporis elegantiâ, et sermonis eloquentiâ conspicuum, non magnopere obluctantem, designat regem."—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 46.

soon arrested. He fell into a snare spread for him by a priest of that province, and, being taken prisoner, was carried to Stockholm, where he was detained in an honourable captivity, due partly to the merits of his brothers, and partly perhaps to the King's hope of again reducing his father to a loyal subjection.[1]

It required all Gustavus's dexterity to extricate himself from his difficult position. He wrote to the Eastgothlanders, upon the first news of the revolt, to interpose their good offices in order to restore quiet in the neighbouring districts.[2] He wrote smoothly soon after to the town of Iönköping, affecting to treat the detention of his sister as the fruit of their zeal for her safety. "We have heard that, in consequence of a false report current among you, that Stockholm was besieged and that Upland had risen against us, you have detained our sister, the Secretary Ulf, and many of her suite, for some time in your city, lest she and they should fall into the hands of such people, for which we graciously thank you; but since there is no such insurrection as reported in your quarter, we pray you to send her and her attendants to us without delay." He affected to think it probable that the commandant of Nydala had provoked his fate. He adds in the same letter,—

"We have understood also that our lieutenant, Godfrid Suré, has been slain in your province; pos-

[1] Tegel, 1529.

[2] Letter dated Stockholm, April 6th, 1529.—R. R., fol. 15; Thys., vol. i. p. 185.

sibly he may have given some provocation thereto by doing injustice there to many, and exceeding our commands: if on that ground any one would engage in insurrection, to the damage of the kingdom and the public, it is very needless. Such affairs have happened before and been settled without injury to the public, and so it may be now, if the case be properly managed; wherein we look to you to exert yourselves, and put everything upon the best footing, well considering the evil consequences which will otherwise ensue."[1]

The Dean and Chapter of Linköping and several of the market-towns offered their mediation unsolicited. Letters from the Smålanders to the people of Eastgothland, and from Turé Johnson to the Dalesmen, inciting them to rise, were fortunately intercepted; and Gustavus, notwithstanding his late severity, or perhaps in consequence of his late severity, succeeded in obtaining not only the neutrality of the latter, but a letter from them to the rebels warning them not to expect their support, but their decided opposition.[2] At the same time Gustavus sent commissioners into the disturbed districts with authority to promise oblivion for the past outrages, and the removal of the causes which had occasioned them.

The effect of these measures was that, when on the

[1] Stockholm, 16th April, 1529.—R. R., fol. 23; Thys., vol. i. p. 193.

[2] Tegel, 1529.

Tuesday before St. George's Day (the 23rd of April) the insurgent leaders assembled the Westgothlanders on Larf's Heath, and Turé Johnson urged them to depose Gustavus, as having forsaken the Christian religion and persecuted the Church, and the Bishop of Skara promised that the Pope should release them from their vows of allegiance, they were coldly received. Two young men answered on behalf of the people, "That a frequent change of kings was costly, and seldom attended with advantage; and that, if they followed the counsels of the Lord Turé and the Bishop, they should have to leave their children a long legacy of the dangers and calamities belonging to civil war. They meant therefore to remain true to Gustavus." The uplifted hands of the assembly having shown their adoption of these views, the chiefs became alarmed for their own safety, and, to avoid an immediate arrest, proposed an adjournment for a fortnight. In the mean time (they said) they would consider as to the best means of propitiating the King. Turé Johnson, however, and the Bishop of Skara did not venture, after the unexpected issue of that day, to remain in the kingdom. Magnus Brynteson (Liliehök), Nils Olfson (Wingé), and Thuré Erickson (Bjelké), thinking themselves less compromised, refused to share their flight.[1]

On the 6th of May Gustavus confirmed the act of grace which his commissioners had concluded with the Smålanders and Westgothlanders on the 25th of

[1] Tegel, 1529.

the preceding month, wherein it was promised that there should be a complete oblivion of all that had been said or done in the late rebellion, by temporal or spiritual, gentle or simple; that the violence put upon Margaret Vasa should be avenged neither by the Count nor by their children born or unborn, but should be clean forgotten, as if it had been never offered; that all good Christian customs should be preserved; and that no heresy should be tolerated in the land, upon condition that all, of every degree in the provinces aforesaid, should give their promise, under hand and seal, to be true to the King, and to clear his reputation with the common people, which in many points they had blackened.[1] He wrote on the 9th of the same month to Turé Johnson, acquainting him with the contents of the act of grace, and inviting him to return to Sweden and avail himself of it; and on the same day to the people of Westgothland and Wermeland, promising, with more particularity than in the act itself, to discountenance all heretical preaching, to maintain all good old Christian customs, and to preserve as many monasteries as the people themselves might think advantageous.[2]

It need not be said that the promiser gave these assurances in a sense different from that in which the promisees would receive them.

[1] Treaty with the rebellious Westgothlanders and Smålanders, Stockholm, 6th May, 1529.—R. R., fol. 40; Thys., vol. i. p. 202.

[2] R. R., fol. 45; Thys., vol. i. p. 211.

As soon as the High Steward had left the country, Magnus Brynteson and Thuré Erickson made a great show of loyalty, seized his château in the name of the King, and wrote to Gustavus acquainting him with what they had done in that matter, and declaring that, after the meeting on Larf's Heath, when Turé Johnson's treasonable designs had become apparent, they had at once deserted his party. They demanded, therefore, an investigation into their conduct, professing their unwillingness to accept a pardon, as if they had been guilty, or to renew the oath of allegiance which they had never broken. The idea that no conclusive proof of their participation in the conspiracy could be established against them was the cause of their rash and fatal confidence. It was grounded upon this:—A priest named Nils of Hvalstad, stationed at Tiveden with a division of the rebels, had kept up a correspondence with all the chiefs of the conspiracy. These letters had fallen into the hands of Gustavus through the address and courage of a spy, who had suffered himself to be captured, and during his captivity had contrived to possess himself of them and escape to Stockholm. The priest, when questioned on the subject of the correspondence by those whom it compromised, fearing to confess the truth, said that he had burnt it to prevent discovery. Deceived by this falsehood, Magnus Brynteson and Thuré Erickson wrote to the King as above stated.[1]

Gustavus answered them coldly, referred them to

[1] Tegel, 1529.

his act of grace, regretted that they had taken possession of Turé Johnson's château, as this might appear a violation of its promises, and granted their request for a judicial investigation of their conduct, by appointing a State meeting at Strengness for the purpose on St. Botolph's day.[1]

When the estates were assembled, the King, who was present, prefaced the business of the day, first, by complaining of Turé Johnson's ingratitude; and secondly, by repelling the charges which had been urged against him as pretexts for the late rebellion. To the charge of fostering heresy he answered that it was not he, but the Lord, who had commanded the preaching of the pure gospel. As to other points of opinion, he was quite willing that learned men should meet together and adjust them. To the accusation of having broken the oath by which he bound himself to preserve the privileges of the Church, he replied that he had done nothing but what had been ratified at Vesterås, and that in lessening the power of the Bishops he had only deprived them of what they had abused to the disturbance and injury of the kingdom: the seizing upon the convents also had been with the consent of the States, and had been to the advantage, not of himself alone, but of the whole realm. Many monks had left their convents, it was true, but none had been expelled except some foreign monks, who remained in the country rather to encou-

[1] Letter dated Upsala, May, 1529 (despatched either on the 21st or 22nd).—R. R., fol. 50; Thys., vol. i. p. 225.

rage rebellion than for any other purpose. If he or his officers had expelled, in any other instances, monk or nun, he would answer for it; but he hoped no such case could be established.[1] He confessed that, as so many of the convents had become empty, he had seized upon their plate and valuables; but this was partly to pay the debt of the state, and partly to maintain students in theology, that there might be a supply of persons qualified to teach throughout the kingdom. On the subject of mass in Swedish, he had neither commanded nor forbidden it; but allowed the clergy in that respect to follow their conscience and God's word. The same thing had taken place in other kingdoms. Moreover, the Latin mass was not discontinued, but used together with the Swedish, so that there was no great ground for complaint.

As the decrees of Vesterâs had been one of the chief causes of the rebellion, the King explained more fully the reasons which had induced the States to adopt them. They had found that the worldly engagements of the Bishops interfered with their duty as preachers of God's word; their power and their strongholds with the King's rights and the administration of justice, and were besides inconsistent with our Saviour's command that his ministers should not be temporal princes. They had found that the estates and tenants of the convents were neglected, that the monks had diminished in each from forty or fifty to five or six, and that they were leading luxu-

[1] Vide supra, p. 163.

rious lives owing to their over ample provision. They had considered, moreover, that God could not be properly worshipped with so much reading and singing as had been usual up to that time, but was worshipped best by the preaching of the gospel: that monasteries and cathedrals, with their staff, were therefore not necessary to the perfection of Divine worship, seeing that this had been better maintained before their establishment than after. Moreover, it appeared from the old registers, and from the number of estates now in the hands of peasants, that, where there were formerly a hundred nobles, there were now only three or four. Of their estates the nobles had been deprived, partly in their simplicity, thinking to do God service; partly by sale or mortgage, when hard pressed for money;—now, as the nobles could not by reason of these alienations do military service to the Crown (and the rather that horses and armour had doubled in price), the States had thought it right that they should get a portion of their lands back again—for their ancestors had no right to strip their descendants of their possessions.[1]

After this exposition, the Council, having first acquitted Gustavus of the charges brought against him, proceeded to the trial of the rebel lords, Brynteson, Olfson, and Erickson.

As they stoutly maintained their innocence, though cautioned by the Council, Gustavus asked them "what they were prepared for, if the contrary could

[1] Tegel, 1529.

be proved against them?" They answered, "Our heads upon the block, our bodies on the wheel, as the law demands." The King, unwilling that they should die, or desirous that their blood should evidently be upon their own heads, asked them again if they would stand their trial, or confess their guilt and accept his pardon. But, confident, as they said, that no guilt could be established against them, they chose to stand their trial, when their own letters were produced, fully implicating them in the conspiracy, and they were condemned to death.[1]

A pear-tree grew near the house in an upper chamber of which Magnus Brynteson was confined after his condemnation, and suggested hopes of escape. It might be possible, he thought, to spring from his window, and, catching hold of some of the extreme branches, to lower himself gradually to the ground. He made the attempt; but having missed his aim, fell, and lay with a crushed leg, until discovered by the sentry in the morning. He was then conveyed to Stockholm, and, together with Nils Olfson, executed there, some few weeks after his removal. The life of the remaining culprit was spared, upon the petition of his mother, but not without a large sum being paid for his redemption.[2]

[1] Tegel, 1529. At the same meeting on Midsummer-day some concessions were made to the wishes of the people. Among the rest—a few monks were to remain, and a tariff was settled for the sums to be paid for troop-horses quartered upon the peasantry. The estates of Turé Johnson and the Bishop of Skara were confiscated at the same meeting.

[2] Ibid.

CHAPTER X.

Arrangements for discharging the debt to Lubeck — General dissatisfaction — Riots in the Dales — Unsuccessful attempt of Christian on Sweden — Murder of the High Steward — Treaty between Frederic and Christian — Violated by Frederic — Christian's imprisonment, death, and character.

IN 1529 the Count of Hoya and Ulf Gyler were sent to Lubeck to arrange for the payment of the debt. Notwithstanding the continual appropriations made professedly for the purpose of paying it off, the principal of the debt still remained at its original amount of 61,681 Lubeck marks for ships and war munitions, and 8689 marks for money advanced. It was now settled, however, that the whole should be paid off in six years. In consideration of this arrangement the privileges of trade in Sweden, formerly conceded to the Hanse towns generally, were —by an article to be kept secret from the excluded towns—thenceforth confined to Lubeck.[1]

It needed a threat on the part of that city, to detain the Swedish ships, and to withhold the usual supplies of salt, hops, &c., if its demands were not satisfied, before the States could be induced to provide for carrying out the arrangement of the King's commissioners. Meetings took place at Upsala in

[1] Tegel, 1529.

1530, and at Örebro in the beginning of 1531, when at last it was reluctantly agreed that to meet the stipulated payments—in addition to a sequestration of rent and tithes for a given time—the superfluous bells of both the town and country parishes should be given up or redeemed.[1]

These decrees gave in the provinces generally, but especially in the Dales, the most intense dissatisfaction. The people inquired with an indignant curiosity, "what had become of the repeated contributions made to pay the debt, what of the wealth of the Church reserved for the same object, since the Lubeckers had not been paid from that fund?"[2] Had they been better satisfied that what was required of them was indeed necessary, it would not have been pleasant to those who had lived where "bells had knolled to church"—even as a matter of ear and sentiment—to have "the largest bell," or "the bell next to the largest," taken, and their melody turned into a jangle. But a deeper feeling mingled with the sacrifice which was demanded. Their bells were in the eyes of good Roman Catholics sacred, not only from their religious uses, but also from the ceremonies by

[1] Tegel, 1530, 1531.

[2] At Upsala, on the 20th May, 1530, the largest bell in the cities of the kingdom was appropriated. "Plebeculam vero propterea tumultuantem, et magnopere admirantem quo devenirent tot facta hactenus contributiones totque divitiarum ex regni ecclesiis contributiones, quando quidem," &c. At Örebro, on the 6th January, 1531, the King obtained permission to seize upon the bell next to the largest in every rural parish, ab Ordinibus difficulter assentientibus.—Scond. Illust., tom. v. pp. 52, 53.

which they had been set apart for those uses.[1] It was therefore with no small indignation that some of the Dalesmen sought counsel of Magnus Nilson, and other chief men in that district, asking whether they should be content that their sacred bells, which had been christened, anointed, and consecrated, should be thus taken from them? Magnus Nilson himself was not in a mood to throw oil on the troubled waters. From that day (he said) he would never again support Gustavus, but oppose him to the utmost of his power. The King had set at nought their privileges, come among them as often, and with what numbers, he chose. He had even crossed Brunbeck's ford—no leave asked of the miners and the Dalesmen—a thing upon which no former King or Regent had ventured. He advised them, therefore, when the King's officers came to demand their bells, to spare their lives indeed, but to give them a good beating.

This advice the Dalesmen followed, and in one instance, that of Lassé Erickson, with such a critical nicety that the life of the maltreated officer was for some time despaired of.[2]

Magnus Nilson having declined to be general of the rebels, Nils of Söderby was chosen instead, and,

[1] The author was once staying at a village in Switzerland when a baptism of bells took place. The godmothers, who were the richest damsels of the parish, provided their godchildren with dresses suitable for the ceremony, and gave them their own names.

[2] Tegel, 1531; Gustavus to the Dalesmen, Stockholm, 19th March, 1531; R. R., fol. 209; Thys., vol. i. p. 361.

taking 150 men with him, plundered the King's estates at Hedemora. Gustavus, when he heard how matters stood, said, "it was now the Dalesmen's time to riot, but, as soon as *his* time came, he would see what God would allow him to do."[1]

Symptoms that this time was not probably far distant quickly appeared. A meeting, called by the rebels to consult on matters concerning the general welfare, failed; while at another meeting of the King's appointment, held at Upsala, he overawed some murmurers, and the assembled Council resolved that no part of the kingdom should be excused from furnishing their bells according to the decree of Örebro.[2]

After this, without coming to any regular treaty with the rebels—into which they would fain have entered, being weary of neglecting their agriculture and going constantly armed—Gustavus appeared to have taken an indulgent view of the late outbreak, and, affecting to be dissatisfied with Lassé Erickson, he reappointed one of their own countrymen, who was popular in the Dales, Ingel Hanson, as his lieutenant in that district.[3]

[1] Tegel, 1531. [2] Ibid.

[3] Letter to Ingel Hanson, 25th March, 1531.—R. R., fol. 211; Dip. Dal. (464.) On the 31st of the same month the King wrote to Magnus Nilson—"You ought not to indulge the idea which perhaps you entertain, that we harbour any displeasure against you; for any such impression which we might have towards you in this affair is completely obliterated by the fidelity which you have shown us and the realm in former disturbances, and which we trust you will even yet show us in the present."—R. R., fol. 213; Thys., vol. i. p. 370.

The reason of this apparent clemency was an impending expedition of Christian, to which he had been urged by Gustavus Trollé and Turé Johnson.

After the High Steward had left the kingdom Gustavus wrote in the most friendly terms, offering him pardon for the past and the full enjoyment of his possessions, if he chose to accept the terms published in his act of grace to the Westgothlanders and Smålanders. Johnson answered in a joint letter with the Bishop of Skara, thanking the King for his gracious offer, which both would have gladly accepted, had it not contained a determination to abide by the decrees of Vesterås Recess. These, the real causes of the late disturbances, they could not conscientiously sanction. They concluded by requesting that the possessions of both in Sweden, and the wife and children of the High Steward, might be restored. It was now evident that the breach was not healable, and when, somewhat later in the year, Turé Johnson urgently pressed Gustavus to send over his wife, he received the following short answer:—

"We greet you as you have deserved. Whereas you write concerning your wife Ingeborg, quoting the words of the Holy Evangelist, 'Quos Deus conjunxit,' &c., you had better reflect upon that other sentence that is written, Quos Sathan conjunxit homo separat. Valete."[1]

[1] The joint letter was dated "Halmstad, 30th May, 1529."—R. R., fol. 64; Thys., vol. i. p. 241. The King's laconic note in September.—Thys., vol. i. p. 243.

Christian lent a ready ear to the flattering promises of the High Steward, and, accompanied by him, set sail from Holland on the 26th of October, 1531, with a fleet of twenty-five ships bound for Opslo (Christiana) in Norway. He had once adopted the reformed religion, but it was in the character of a champion of the Catholic faith and an extirpator of heresy that he now appeared. Though a storm had dispersed his squadron, and only eleven ships could be mustered when he arrived at Opslo, the Norwegian bishops and nobles willingly renewed to Christian their oath of allegiance, and the exiled Swedish lords endeavoured, by representing him as a thoroughly changed man, to enlist the Dalesmen in his favour. But in vain;[1] the Bloodbath was still remembered, and all the detestable cruelties and treacheries with which it was accompanied, and when, in the spring of 1532, Christian, moving into Bohusland, instead of the cordial reception which he had been taught to expect from the Swedes, saw 3000 Swedish troops—who had marched from Lödöse, now Gottenburg—coming out to attack him, he turned to Turé Johnson and said, "You told me that I should not find a man in Sweden to oppose me. Are those women then? Such representations may be to my loss, but they will not be to your advantage."[2]

These words of evil omen were soon verified. The

[1] Bergsmen and Dalesmen's answer to Gustavus Trollé, April or May, 1532.—Dip. Dal. 487.

[2] Tegel, 1532; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 57.

next morning the headless trunk of the High Steward was found in the streets of Kongelf.

After some partial success, in which Christian established a claim to a good deal of military talent, he was compelled to retreat for want of provisions, the supply of which the enemy effectually prevented, and, when he arrived again at Opslo, he had of all his force scarcely 2000 men remaining, the rest having been destroyed in going out to forage, or by famine.

Frederic, equally interested with Gustavus in the event of this war, strongly urged by him to take advantage of the crisis, and propitiated by the recovery of Bohusland, which was restored to Denmark after ten years' occupation, sent out a naval force to relieve Aggerhus, then besieged by the fleet of the ex-King. This was effectually accomplished; and the combined fleets of Denmark and the Hanse towns having soon after sailed into Opslo frith and burnt all the ships which were before the town, Christian's army, without pay and without hope of pay (for the war-chest was empty, and the Norwegian churches exhausted), compelled him to treat for a surrender.[1]

Negotiations were accordingly opened with Knut Gyldenstjern (Bishop-elect of Odensee), the commander of the expedition, which were protracted from the 12th of May to the 1st of July. While they were still pending Frederic wrote to Gyl-

[1] Tegel, 1532; Hvitfeldt, 1532. From these partly, but chiefly from Behrman's account of the captivity and release of Christian the Second (Copenhagen, 1812), I have taken what follows.

denstjern not to agree to Christian's demand of retaining Norway or a part thereof, but to drive him from the country, which he could be compelled at all events soon to leave. The Bishop did not understand this letter as absolutely forbidding all negotiation with Christian, and a verbal message from Frederic, allowing only an unconditional surrender, he denied having received. It was therefore under the powers with which he was originally intrusted, that he signed a treaty with Christian, dated the 1st July, 1532, stipulating that the latter, on the one hand, should discontinue hostilities, and, on the other, embark himself and 200 attendants on board the Danish fleet under a safe-conduct to sail with it to Denmark, and there endeavour, at a personal interview with his uncle, to adjust their differences. Should this attempt fail he was to be set at liberty either in Germany or in Norway.

After the instruments had been executed with all due solemnity, Christian wrote to his uncle that he was coming back to him "as the prodigal son;" but his return was not welcomed with similar rejoicings: on the contrary, his arrival in Copenhagen roads[1] threw the King and Council into the greatest embarrassment. What was to be done? To set him at liberty was against all policy—to detain him was against all justice. To set him at liberty would be at once to let loose an enemy to the peace and quiet of Denmark, and to incur the displeasure of Gustavus

[1] On the eve of St. James's Day (*i. e.* 24th July). Tegel, 1532.

and the Hanse Towns, who were in their different measures interested in, and anxious for, his detention. All the ingenuity therefore which could be mustered to get rid of the inconvenient treaty was brought into play. Some thought indeed that faith ought to be kept, but the more palatable suggestions—that, since the treaty had not been sealed with the King's seal, and had been signed after the full powers conferred upon Gyldenstjern had been revoked, it was not binding—preponderated. If any doubt still remained, Gyldenstjern dispersed it by stating that Christian could not expect the conditions of the treaty to be observed in his favour, since he had violated it himself, by sending to the Emperor the act wherein the Norwegian bishops and magnates acknowledged him as King, and his son as his rightful heir and successor.

With such pretexts were the pleas of justice stifled, and it was determined to send the prisoner to the castle of Sönderborg in Holstein. After he had been five days at Copenhagen, four of the State-Council came on board his ship and informed him that the King was at Flensborg, and that they had orders to accompany him thither. The fleet got under weigh, but when, instead of sailing up Flensborg Firth, he perceived that his vessel was steered for Sönderborg, the last gleam of hope vanished, and the miserable man bewailed with bitter tears the snare into which he had fallen. At first he was imprisoned in the blue tower of that fortress, with a little dwarf,

whom he had captured in Norway, and four young noblemen for his attendants; but, upon some attempt to communicate with his relations in Germany, he was removed to a dungeon on the eastern tower, where one small window served rather to show the gloom than to give light, where provisions and fuel were conveyed to him through a hole in the wall, and where the dwarf was now his only companion. To the darkness of this gloomy prison the eyes of the wretched prince became at length so accustomed, that he would sometimes while away the time by drawing on the walls; and, by marks on a marble table which stood in the middle of the apartment, he kept a register of the circuits round it, which made up his daily exercise.[1]

Dreadful as such a captivity must have been even to one who could support it with a good man's hope and a martyr's constancy, what must it have been to such a man as Christian, with a conscience so stained with perjury, treachery, and blood? Yet for twelve years it continued with unmitigated rigour: the only change was in the companion of his captivity. After some time the poor dwarf feigned sickness, and was liberated. His place was supplied by an old soldier, to whom Christian became much attached, and whose loss added one more bitter ingredient to the full cup of his misery. In 1544 his imprisonment was, by a treaty with the Emperor, so far relaxed that he was

[1] A drawing of Copenhagen castle was found upon the walls of his dungeon.

permitted to go into the town, and now and then to shoot, and in 1549 he was removed to Callundborg castle, where eight noblemen and eighty other attendants composed at once his household and his guard. An attempt to elude these deprived him of the privilege of shooting, which he had before enjoyed; in other respects the indulgences granted him remained unaltered. Christian the Third treated him kindly, sent him money to dispense among the poor, and condescended to excuse himself for not providing him with foreign ale, which was then a favourite beverage. When Christian learnt the death of his benefactor, who died on New Year's Day, 1559, he was deeply affected. The new King sent from Kolding on the 15th January an order that he should not leave the castle; but the order had scarcely reached its destination before the prisoner was released by death from his long, unjust, and yet richly-merited captivity. He died on the 24th of January, in the 78th year of his age; his body was conveyed to Odensee and buried in the church of the Franciscans by the side of his father.

The abilities of this prince have been extolled, perhaps with reason, but in the storm of his tumultuous passions they had little opportunity for steady exercise, and, with such a temperament as his, were powerful chiefly for mischief. He has been described as one whose vast conceptions were in advance of his age.[1] It would have been more reasonable to repre-

[1] Behrman, preface.

sent him as one whose plans were ever bounded by shifting and short-sighted views of his own interest. It is not easy to believe that the zeal for the commons, pretended by the author of the Bloodbath, proceeded from an enlightened humanity and hatred of oppression, nor that his patriotism was more genuine than his religion, which was Catholic or Protestant just as it served his turn. To exalt such a monster into a sort of humanito-political martyr is a treason to the great names who, to benefit their fellow-creatures, have become the victims of bigotry and ignorance.[1] Let it be conceded that he was not altogether detestable; let it be admitted that, as there is, they say, heat in the coldest bodies, so there were in him some sparks of remorse and tenderness to vindicate his claim to our common nature; yet the most compassionate must acknowledge the righteousness of the fate which provokes their pity, and see in that fate the hand of an Almighty God turning even the injustice of man into the instrument of his just retribution.[2]

[1] One Cypræus pictured Christian as a saint in his 'History of the Church of Slesvick.'—Holberg, vol. ii. p. 162.

[2] He was subject, during his captivity, to hereditary fits of depression, and these towards the end of his life, from the intemperate use of Italian wine, amounted to melancholy madness.—Ibid., vol. ii. p. 378.

CHAPTER XI.

Marriage of Gustavus — His determination to humble the Dalesmen — Execution of their leaders — War between Lubeck and Holland — Claims of Lubeck — Their validity denied by Gustavus — Birth of an heir — The Lubeckers revive the claims of Christian and make war on Denmark — Gustavus supports the Danes — Siege of Copenhagen — Triumph of the allies, and acknowledgment of Christian the Third — Results of the war — Conspiracy to assassinate Gustavus — Condemnation of Olaus Petri and Lars Anderson for not revealing the plot.

THE marriage of Gustavus with the Princess Catherine of Saxony having been determined on, that the ceremony might be performed by the highest dignitary of the Swedish Church, the prelates and most distinguished of the clergy assembled in Stockholm at Midsummer, 1531, to elect an Archbishop. There were four candidates, of whom the most celebrated were Laurentius Petri and Lars Anderson. The former, who was elected by a great plurality of votes, officiated at the marriage, which took place the Sunday before Michaelmas. The bride received for her dower the castle, town, and adjacent territory of Calmar, the castle of Bornholm, and Öland.[1]

It was a natural and graceful act on the part of the young Queen to plead for those who had incurred the King's displeasure, and she interposed her good

[1] Tegel, 1531.

offices for the rebellious Dalesmen, who shortly before the marriage had entreated pardon, and offered 2000 marks (örtugher) for the redemption of their bells. The King listened to their prayer, accepted the proffered composition, and gave the delinquents an assurance of forgiveness. He was, however, not the less determined, as soon as the danger from without should be removed, to strike a blow at the pretensions which they constantly put forth, and which were at once inconsistent with the authority of the monarch and the peace of the kingdom. The blow was aimed immediately at those who, in the affair of the bells, had been the foremost to embody those pretensions, and to carry them out into actual rebellion. On the 19th January, 1533, the King wrote to the principal parishes in the Dales that he had consulted with the State Council, now that (God be praised!) outward peace was restored, as to the best means of preserving the inward peace of the kingdom, and that they had advised him to separate from the Dalesmen those who were wont to excite them to disturbance; that he was accordingly coming up to the Coppermine with a large force—for which he required them to provide rations—to hold an inquest. He added, that this step would be unnecessary if they would assist his lieutenants and apprehend Magnus Nilson and some others within eight days.[1]

It would appear that the capture did not take place within the limited period, for we find Gustavus

[1] Letter dated from Vesterås.—R. R., fol. 89; Dip. Dal. 494.

writing again on the 30th of the same month, appointing the following Sunday for the proposed meeting, and requesting that twelve prudent men might be chosen from each parish to confer with him at the place appointed.[1] On the same day, to humiliate them the more effectually, he wrote to the minister and churchwardens of Tuna, which was one of the richest parishes in the Dales, requesting them to ransack the church and to bring to him, together with the registers and papers thereto belonging, all the plate and jewels they could lay their hands upon, to supply the deficiency of the bell-tax.[2] It required some compulsion to bring the people together on the appointed day, but when they were assembled Gustavus told them that they had played with him too often, and that he meant this to be the finishing game. Their district must either be an obedient district or a desert. He would teach them to set bounds to their lawful King, or to forbid him to travel where he pleased throughout his dominions!

The leaders, who had been previously taken, were now brought forward, when Nils of Söderby and one or two more were executed on the spot. Magnus Nilson, Anders Pehrson, Ingel Hanson, and some others were sent to Stockholm, where they were tried on the 17th February in the following year for the riot in the affair of the bells, and for *subsequently*

[1] Wäsby.—R. R., fol. 101; Dip. Dal. 496.
[2] Hedemora.—Dip. Dal. 497.

carrying on a treasonable correspondence with the partisans of Christian, found guilty, and executed.[1]

These severe measures produced the desired effect. The Dalesmen learnt at length that they had to deal with a King who would not divide with them his prerogative, who, by his prudence, defeated all their schemes, and whose slow but sure vengeance punished every outrage against his authority. There were no more rebellions in the Dales during the reign of Gustavus.

While the King was engaged in accomplishing this object he was threatened with hostilities from another quarter. The Lubeckers, who had for some time been viewing with jealousy the increasing trade of Holland, asked and obtained leave from Frederic—angry with the Hollanders for having brought Christian to Norway—permission to pass the Sound and attack them.

Expeditions were accordingly sent out in 1532 and 1533 under the command of Marcus Meyer, a Lubecker, who had formerly been a smith, but whose courage and ambition prompted him "to exchange the hammer for the commander's staff." On the last of these expeditions he was driven on the English coast and captured. The mediation of the Hanse Towns, however, procured his release, and, on his departure from England, Henry the Eighth knighted

[1] Tegel, 1533. "Magnus Nilson was so rich that, according to tradition, his horses were shod with silver" (Geijer); perhaps as the streets of London are paved with gold.

him and loaded him with presents. His marriage with the widow of a former burgomaster increased his credit in his native town, where, in concert with another able and voluble demagogue, George Wollenwever, he succeeded in reviving the ancient constitution of the Council, which provided that a third part should go out every year, and thus opened a way for introducing into the government his own partisans, and of finally establishing there, for himself and his colleague, a preponderating authority.[1]

In 1533 the newly-constituted Council endeavoured to draw Gustavus into a convention to exclude all foreign vessels, except those of the Hanse Towns, from the trade of the Baltic. But the King was not disposed to throw away so soon his partially recovered freedom. He replied that the navigation of the seas ought to be open, and that any attempt on his part to interrupt it would embroil him with Holland and other states.[2]

The Lubeckers, under the influence of their new guides, resented this answer by impounding some property of Gustavus lying in their city to the amount of 7000 marks, on the ground that from 8000 to 10,000 marks of the debt still remained un-

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1533. They recommended this scheme to the burghers by representing to them that the Reformation would make no progress while the old Council remained in power, and by the appointment of a Vigilance Committee of 164 burghers to watch the proceedings of the burgomasters and Council. This example was followed in Rostock, Wismar, and other places (says Hvitfeldt), to their great detriment.

[2] Hvitfeldt, 1533.

liquidated. They said at the same time that "they had given the King his throne, and that they would take it away again, since he had proved so ungrateful."

Gustavus retaliated by imprisoning the Lubeck traders who happened to be in Sweden, by confiscating the wares belonging to that state, and by depriving it of the privileges reserved by the late treaty. To their complaints of ingratitude and pretended claim he said that they had been paid twice over for all they had lent or done on his behalf.[1] In truth Gustavus and the Lubeckers not only could not agree as to the degree of influence which their services had had upon his fortunes, but not even as to their pecuniary amount. Gustavus contended that the sum claimed by them was greater than the figures in their own state-register. Moreover, he wanted to deduct the cost of four ships supplied by Lubeck, which were lost, as he alleged, from having been despatched to Sweden too late in the year. The Count of Hoya, who in 1529 had admitted the Lubeckers' computation, and agreed that if the debt were not paid off within the stipulated time he would become himself a hostage for its payment, had thereby incurred the King's displeasure. The estrangement thus begun, being followed by a family quarrel, ended in a perfect rupture, and when, in spite of repeated summonses to Stockholm, he proceeded in 1534 to Lubeck, it was

[1] Tegel, 1533.

not as a hostage, but to take arms against his brother-in-law and sovereign.[1]

On the 13th of December of the preceding year, while these clouds were gathering, the Queen gave birth to her eldest son, Eric, destined to cause Gustavus so much anxiety, and by his tragical death to cast so deep a stain upon the house of Vasa. The Queen was three days in labour, and on the third day, when the courtiers were no doubt prepared for evil auguries, the King's physician, who was an astrologer, said, "Pray that the child may not be born in this hour, for, if it be, it will be to you and all the kingdom a child of sorrow." He had scarcely spoken these words when the cry of the new-born babe was heard in the Queen's chamber.[2]

The King, if he was informed of these prognostications, gave no heed to them. He rejoiced in the birth of his first-born, and redoubled his diligence to secure to him the throne which he had so hardly won, and hitherto so well defended. The Lubeckers, unable to find a pretender to that throne in Swanté Sturé, took advantage of the death of Frederic the Third,[3] and the state of parties in Denmark, to revive the claims of the captive King to the three

[1] Tegel, 1534. Messenius says that the Count was angry with the King; "quod minus æque hæreditaria prædia divisisset cum sorore Margaretâ, Comitis uxore."—Tom. v. p. 63. The German secretary, Ulf Gyler, who had long been in traitorous correspondence with him and the Lubeckers, joined him at Lubeck.

[2] Tegel, 1533.

[3] Frederic died in April, 1533.

northern kingdoms. The prize to be first contended for, however, was the throne of Denmark, to which Prince Christian, the eldest son of the late King, appeared to have the strongest title: but his pretensions, though supported by the nobles, were not seconded by the bishops and clergy on account of his inclination for the reformed doctrines, and they pleaded that his second brother John, who was still a child, and who, they thought, might be brought up in the Roman Catholic religion, had a better right to the throne than his elder brother, inasmuch as he only of the two had been born after his father had attained the sovereignty. The burgesses and the peasants again were inclined to the cause of the deposed King, who had always affected a peculiar zeal for their interests.[1]

The Lubeckers, that they might be free to carry on their operations against Denmark and Sweden, on the 5th of March, 1534, concluded a truce of four years with Holland. Count Christopher of Oldenburg, a canon of Cologne—from whom this war was called the Count's war—was induced to become their general. The town of Copenhagen surrendered to him, as the representative of Christian, in July, 1534. The castle of Malmö had at Whitsuntide been seized upon by the burghers of that city, with George Mynter at their head, in the name of the ex-King. These successes procured the acknowledgment of his claims both in Zealand and Scânia. On the other

[1] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 62.

hand, Prince Christian was elected King by the nobles of Jutland and Funen. A meeting to accommodate differences between this prince and Count Christopher had no good result, as the latter proposed that the Prince should be content with Holstein —to which duchy the Lubeckers had acknowledged his claim—and surrender to his cousin Zealand, Funen, Scânia, and Norway.[1]

Gustavus was no inattentive observer of these movements. An expedition, indeed, despatched by him to relieve Copenhagen—having found that city and all Zealand in the hands of Christopher—returned; but he did not relax his efforts. He supplied the Duke of Holstein with money, and sent John Turéson (Ros) with a force of 5000 men across the border, to support his cause in Holland and Scânia. Turéson, having taken Halmstadt, was soon after joined by 500 well-armed cavaliers of the Scânian nobility, and the united forces encountered a division of Christopher's army, under the Count of Hoya, at Helsingborg, on the 13th January, 1535. The citadel, which commanded the town, was held by Tycho Krabbé. His dispositions were not exactly known; but they were supposed not unfavourable to the Prince, as he had refused to give up the fortress to Christopher. Reckoning, therefore, upon his sup-

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1534. It appears that, though Meyer and Wollenwever openly supported the ex-King's pretensions, there was a secret compact with some of the leading burghers of Copenhagen and Malmö to include those cities in the Hanseatic league.—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 62.

port or neutrality, the allies attacked the Count with boldness in the streets of the town and gained some advantage. The cannon from the citadel then turned against the Lubeckers, and completed the victory. Numbers were slain or driven into the sea. The Count himself and the German Secretary, Ulf Gyler, escaped, but the Burgomaster, Marcus Meyer, who with 1500 men had thrown himself into a convent, was taken prisoner, and—after some dispute between the allies as to the possession of his person—finally sent to Warberg, where he was courteously received by the Commandant and placed upon his parole. This did not prevent him from concerting with the burghers of the town to gain possession of the fortress. When all was ripe for execution, at an appointed hour in the evening, Meyer drew up to the window of his room a rope-ladder, which had been attached to a piece of string let down for the purpose. Eighty of the German garrison were thus enabled to enter the apartment, where they lay concealed for the night. In the morning, as soon as the Commandant had gone down to the port, they rushed out, headed by Meyer, slew all they met, barred the gates, and remained masters of the citadel. The Commandant on his return, finding what had happened, retreated to Lund.[1]

The Duke of Holstein, however, continued to gain ground upon his opponents.

In June, 1535, his generals gained a decisive

[1] Tegel, 1534; Hvitfeldt, 1534.

victory over the Lubeckers at Örneberg, near Assens, in Funen. Having ascertained where the enemy was posted, they marched to the spot by night, leaving their camp fires still burning, and falling upon him by surprise, after a hard struggle, put him to the rout. Archbishop Trollé fell in this battle mortally wounded. The Count of Hoya was taken prisoner, but, as he was dismounting from his horse to complete his surrender, a Holstein nobleman, with whom he had a feud, came up and stabbed him to the heart.[1]

A naval victory in the same year made the cause of the ex-King still more desperate. The united Swedish, Danish, and Prussian fleets, consisting of thirty-two sail, encountered twenty-six Lubeck ships at Bornholm, and took ten of them. In the following year Malmö and Warberg surrendered; the last after an obstinate defence. Meyer was taken at Warberg, and put to death. A decree of the Imperial Chamber deprived George Wollenwever of the burgomastership in Lubeck. He fell at last into the hands of the Duke of Brunswick, and remained for a long time in prison; until the prayers of the old party in Lubeck, urging his condemnation on the ground of his having

[1] Hvitfeldt, 1535. His remains were after some time conveyed to Odensee, and buried under a tomb bearing this inscription:—"Anno 1535, 2ndo Junii, Johannes de Hoya, et Nicolaus de Teckelnborg, Comites, in hostili Lubecensium acie cæsi prope Assens ad regionem Oxeberg ibique sepulti, Christiani III. Regis Victoris pio jussu huc translati." His wife died of grief at Revel in 1537, when Gustavus bestowed upon her son (Count) Peter Brahé his hereditary possessions.

provoked a needless and fatal war against Denmark and Gustavus, prevailed, and he shared the fate of his colleague.[1]

Copenhagen still held out, suffering, after it was abandoned by the Lubeckers and closely pressed by the Duke, the most dreadful extremities of famine. After the supplies of ordinary and wholesome food were exhausted or reduced to the lowest pittance the wretched inhabitants were fain to feed on horses and dogs, and quarrelled with each other for the very vermin and garbage of the kennel. Despair and misery stifled all the softer feelings. To lessen the demand upon the stores more than two hundred of the oldest and poorest inhabitants were murdered in the streets and houses of Copenhagen, and the authorities connived at the horrible outrage.[2] Men and women dropped down in the streets and died of hunger; and yet, so desperate were the minds, and so hardened the hearts of the Burgomaster and Council, that when some of the burghers went to them, and, painting the sore distress, entreated them to give up the struggle, they were told "to go home again, for they had not yet eaten their own children, as they had done at Jerusalem."

The only relief to the revolting selfishness of this dark scene is one single trait of maternal tenderness fearfully yet most touchingly displayed. Two infants were seen sucking blood from the breasts of their

[1] Tegel, 1536.

[2] Hvitfeldt, 1536; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 75.

dying mother, who—the natural stream of nourishment being dried up—thus attempted to stifle the cries and prolong the existence of her unhappy offspring.[1]

It was not until the 29th of July, 1536, when it had been besieged a year and a day, that Copenhagen surrendered, and in 1537 the cause of the captive King, and of those members of his family who were successively set up in his stead, of Albert of Mecklenburg, who had married his niece, and of the Palsgrave Frederic, who had married his daughter, having become well nigh hopeless, the coronation of Christian the Third was celebrated with the usual rejoicings.[2]

The results of this war were the complete incorporation of Denmark and Norway—the independent council of the latter being abolished—which constitution continued up to 1814, and the permanent establishment of the reformed religion in that realm.

[1] This seems to be the most natural explanation of a fact which Hvitfeldt says more than a thousand people witnessed. Some of my readers will remember the pretty epigram of Œmilianus in the Anthologia:—

"Ελκε, τάλαν, παρὰ μητρὸς ὃν οὐκετι μαζὸν ἀμέλξεις
Ἕλκυσον ὑστάτιον νᾶμα καταφθιμένης
Ἤδη γὰρ ξιφέεσσι λιπόπνοος ἀλλα τὰ μητρὸς
φίλτρα καὶ εἰν Αἴδῃ, παιδοκομεῖν ἔμαθεν."

"Suck, little wretch, while yet thy mother lives,
Suck the last drop her fainting bosom gives.
She dies; her tenderness survives her breath,
And her fond love is provident in death."

Anthologia Polyglotta, p. 409.

[2] Scrip. Rer. Dan., vol. viii. p. 502.

Lubeck lost by it its pretensions to engross the trade of the Baltic, and to make and unmake kings; while its issue relieved Gustavus from the open attacks of his most formidable opponents, and secured to him on the throne of Denmark a neighbour whose friendship was pledged to him by obligations received, by the ties of kindred, by common interests, and the mutual love and mutual necessity of peace.

While, however, everything around promised Gustavus the greatest security, he was really in the greatest peril. A plot concocted by the demagogues of Lubeck, in conjunction with some of the burghers of Stockholm, chiefly Germans, and which had slept until the event of the war was certain, was after its conclusion revived and ripened. The conspirators prepared a succession of schemes for the murder of the King, to be employed in turn if necessary. First, a barrel of gunpowder, furnished with a fuse capable of burning three hours, was to be placed under his seat in the High Church, and to be exploded during the time of divine service. Should this fail, Anders Hanson, the King's master of the mint, who had married a sister of Bishop Brask, was to stab him in the treasury at Stockholm castle. If this scheme failed also, he was to be taken off by poison. The loyal inhabitants of Stockholm were then to be murdered, and the city included in the Hanseatic league. But the mission of Gustavus was not yet fulfilled. He had yet much to accomplish for the benefit of his country. He had himself to be schooled by suffer-

ing; and it was not the will of God that he should perish as his assassins had designed. The day before that appointed for the execution of the plot, a drunken shipmaster of Stockholm, whose habits had made him needy, and whose need had made him desperate, was made privy to the designs of the conspirators, by whom he was engaged to fire the train, and with whom he sat up drinking until a late hour. On his return home in a state of intoxication, he revealed to a neighbour what was to take place the next day. The woman having told her husband, he immediately sent to the Commandant of Stockholm, and before morning the conspirators were all secured. The Master of the Mint threw himself from the window of his prison, and was killed on the spot. Several of the rest were executed, and Gorius Holst, the host of Christian the Tyrant in 1520, who was implicated, imprisoned for life.[1]

Four years afterwards, to the joy and exultation of the Romanists, two of the persons most conspicuous in promoting the Reformation in Sweden, Olaus Petri and Lars Anderson, were tried and condemned to death for having kept secret this conspiracy, which had been made known to them under the seal of confession. A scruple of conscience, mistaken no doubt, but not without some plausible arguments in its favour, had closed their lips, and the fall over which

[1] Tegel, 1536. Messenius places this event in March of the preceding year, and is followed by Celsius; but Geijer, with more reason, I think, follows Tegel.—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 71.

the Roman Catholics so indecently exulted was occasioned by a strict adherence in one point to their own principles and practice. The lives of both were spared, that of Olaus Petri ransomed for a large sum of money advanced for him by the burghers of Stockholm, that of Lars Anderson at the price of all he possessed. The former, after three years, was restored to his office; the latter died in poverty and disgrace.[1]

[1] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 85. The Archbishop, Laurentius Petri, formed one of the commission appointed to try his brother.

CHAPTER XII.

Death of Queen Catherine — The King marries Margaret Abrahamson — Rebellions in Småland — The Dacké war — Negotiations with Dacké — Hostilities renewed — The King's instructions to his lieutenant — Termination of the civil war — Treaty with Russia — Threatened rupture with Denmark — Peace of Brömsebro.

BEFORE the Count's war was completely brought to an end, viz. in September, 1535, Christian the Third visited his kinsman in Stockholm, and was received by him both with a cordial welcome and a princely hospitality. Gustavus advanced him a still further loan, and received Warberg, Aggerhus, and Viken as pledges for the repayment. Christian, moreover, relinquished his claim to certain estates in Halland, and gave Gustavus a written promise not to conclude any treaty with the Lubeckers without his privity and consent.[1]

A few days after he left Sweden Queen Catherine died rather suddenly, which gave occasion to a malicious report that her death had been occasioned by the King's violence, exhibited towards her because she had betrayed to their late guest some state secrets. This calumny, the origin of which Celsius traces up

[1] Tegel, 1535; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 72.

to the Hanse Towns, the greater part of the Swedish historians pass over in silent contempt.[1]

The marriage had not been a happy one. Had it been otherwise, the King, as subsequent events proved, was not a person to be prevented by that circumstance from quickly forming a new engagement. But now state reasons combined with inclination to make him resolve upon a second marriage as soon as possible.

The object of his choice was Margaret, daughter of Eric Abrahamson (Lejonhufvud), who had acted as guide to the Danes against Sten Sturé the younger, and afterwards perished at the massacre of Stockholm. She had been betrothed to Swanté Sturé beyond a doubt; but Celsius and Geijer have perhaps too hastily adopted the idea thrown out by Messenius (who, as a Roman Catholic, was no friend to the King), that there was between the affianced a mutual attachment.[2] Marriages at that time, we know, were contracted between the heads of noble houses for their children with very little regard to their inclinations, and it is far from improbable that both Gustavus and Sturé felt that, in the substitution of a younger sister of Margaret for Margaret herself, Sturé had obtained all the advantages contemplated by the alliance. Two circumstances confirm to some

[1] Qui (Historici Danorum) similiter insinuant Reginam Catherinam, post Regis Christiani abitum, ob prodita ipsi secreta tantopere a marito fuisse pulsatam ut 23 Septembris indè animam exhalaret.—Scond. Illust., tom. i. p. 73.

[2] Scond. Illust., tom. i. p. 76; Messenii Conrad. Gustaf., act 4, sc. 8, apud Celsium, vol. ii. p. 151; Geijer, vol. i. p. 106.

extent the impression, that the affections of the betrothed were not deeply engaged to one another—the first, that Gustavus's marriage with Margaret was attended with great happiness to both; and the second, that, notwithstanding the temptations offered to Sturé in the ensuing war, his loyalty remained unshaken.

The marriage took place at Stockholm on the 1st October, 1536.[1]

During the nuptial festivities Magnus Sommar, Bishop of Strengness, was deposed and imprisoned for declaring that he could no longer support the Lutheran religion. His successor—an evangelical canon of Linköping named Bothvid—being afterwards asked by the King, who had cast a longing eye upon the episcopal palace, "In what chapter of the Bible it was written that the Bishops of Strengness should live in palaces of stone," answered, "In the same chapter that gives the Kings of Sweden the church tithes." By this indiscreet repartee he had well nigh provoked the fate of his predecessor.[2]

It was now resolved to punish the Smålanders, who had assisted the enemy during the late war. Troops were assembled in Linköping for the purpose, but finally the delinquents were allowed to compound for their proceedings, the richer peasants, who became bound for the rest, being imprisoned in Calmar castle until satisfaction should have been made.[3]

The civil war thus avoided for a time broke out in

[1] Tegel, 1536.

[2] Scond. Illust., tom. i. p. 77.

[3] Tegel, 1536, 1537.

1537 under one John Anderson, and again in 1538 under a far more celebrated leader, Nils Dacké, from whom it took the name of the Dacké war.

A complication of causes produced this formidable insurrection. The Smålanders, like most borderers, were high-spirited and warlike, and they were exasperated by the frequent oppression of their nobles, by the changes which Gustavus had made in respect to religion, by the heavy imposts which he continually levied, by his forest laws, and by a regulation which forbade them either to export their oxen or to sell them in the kingdom for more than sixteen Danish marks (as some say) the yoke.[1] This regulation, which interfered with the staple trade of the province, excited the liveliest discontent.

Dacké, a yeoman, born in Blekingé and therefore a foreigner, but connected with the richest families of that class in Småland, was a man of violent passions, upon which he put little or no restraint. A lawsuit with another yeoman having gone against him, he slew the King's provost, and, when all his possessions were insufficient to pay the fine for which he had been allowed to compound the murder, he contrived to escape from prison and join the insurgents.[2] The war continued from 1537 to 1543, spreading from parish to parish, or rather, says Geijer, "from wood to wood." The insurgents, who knew their strength and their weakness, could not be induced to come

[1] Bruzelii Hist. 294. See Appendix, on the value of money and commodities in the time of Gustavus Vasa.

[2] Dacké joined the rebels in 1538.—Tegel.

out of their natural fastnesses to be killed *secundum artem* in a pitched battle, and the soldiers bitterly complained that "they were no sooner pursued than they skulked back again, like wolves, into the forest." In their plundering sallies they spared the traders and the clergy, who still clung to the old faith; but the great landowners, the rich peasants—who were held as little better than aristocrats in disguise—and the married priests, were pillaged without mercy.[1]

In 1542 the insurgents, having gathered strength and confidence, marched to Wöxtorp, captured the King's lieutenant and Arvid Westgöthe, the celebrated general, stripped them naked, tied them to trees, and shot them dead. From Blekingé they were supplied with ammunition, and continued to burn and pillage, increasing in numbers day by day.[2]

On the 22nd of July Dacké wrote to Swanté Sturé, who was the commandant of Stekeborg, offering to place him on the throne, but received a positive refusal; and a defeat of 300 of Dacké's followers, with some other advantages gained by the King's troops, led to negotiations. The King admitted that the complaints which the insurgents put forth were not altogether groundless. "You rend and tear from the poor peasants," he writes to his lieutenants, "all that they possess, sometimes perhaps for a mere trifle, and the consequence is that, when they are thoroughly impoverished, they have no other resource but to join the brigands in the forest."

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 100. [2] Tegel, 1542.

The Smålanders, in their memorial of grievances, complained that they were cheated and oppressed by the King's officers; that unlawful taxes were enforced and unreasonable fines exacted; that for a poor oak-tree, cut down for building and for other purposes, the fine was enormous, and that even for a single bough it was forty marks; that the ornaments which their forefathers had given to churches for God's honour had been taken from them, so that now there was as much pleasure in going into a lone wood as into a church; and that the fine old service had been changed into such a mass as every ploughboy could whistle.[1]

Redress was promised for all these grievances, and some old and well-judging members of the State-Council were to be sent in the winter to consult with certain delegates from the Dales how it might be best effected.

There was no intention of keeping these engagements. The King directed his officers "to use craft and smoothness with the rascals, and to promise what they would without scruple, since *they* (the Smålanders) never thought of keeping *their* promises."[2]

During the suspension of hostilities Gustavus wrote to Dacké, with a safe-conduct and an invitation to a conference, which, however, the latter did not think it advisable to accept. He also wrote to the people of Småland, protesting that he had not given them any ground for this disturbance; that he had never

[1] Tegel, 1542.

[2] R. R., August 22, 1542, apud Geijer, vol. ii. p. 119.

heard of the complaints which had been put forward; but it might well happen that in many parts of the kingdom the people had suffered wrong without his will or knowledge: he had done his best for their welfare, and had appointed native Swedes to rule them, but he had too much to do, to go to every man in the kingdom and ascertain his condition. Not one, however, of those who had come to him had been sent away without redress.[1]

In pursuance of the truce Dacké issued a proclamation forbidding further violence, and even damaged his popularity by severely punishing some infringements of order on his side. To the Duke Albert of Mecklenburg, one of the pretenders to the Swedish crown, he replied that, if Gustavus kept his promises, he desired no better king; otherwise he should be willing to entertain his (Albert's) proposals. It is said that he gave this answer because the name of Albert was unpopular with the Swedes, the tyranny of a king of that name having given rise to the union. He had already, at a meeting at Vexiö, laid the particulars of the treaty before delegates from different parts of Småland, but they had declined to put faith in Gustavus, and had urged him—and he had consented—to continue the war.[2]

The winter was passed in vigorous preparations. The Emperor wrote to Dacké from Barcelona (on the 23rd of November, 1542) with promises of succour;

[1] Tegel, 1542.

[2] Tegel, 1542; Celsius, vol. ii. pp. 246-251.

the Palsgrave Frederic also gave him great encouragement, flattered him highly, and sent him a patent of nobility.[1] Gustavus on his part was not idle; he made arrangements for levying troops at home and abroad, and assembling them near Iönköping, that he might, if possible, strike a final blow and crush the insurrection.

He wrote to Nils Larson from Vesterås in January, directing him to take the command of the troops enlisted in the Dales, and to bring them by the nearest route to Vadstena, so as to be there by St. Peter's day. He then gives him these further instructions:—"We have thought it advantageous and advisable that the Dalesmen should write to the iron-miners in the hundred of Åkerbo, in Neriké, and Westgothland, under the seal of their province, and have accordingly had a draught made of the tenor in which we think the said letter should run. This we send you enclosed. You must, therefore, employ whatever counsel, means, or persuasion you can, so that the said letter may issue under the seals of the Dales and the Coppermine. For the seals of Helsingland and Gestrickland you can, no doubt, find some larger seals from which you can take impressions, so as to give the affair a colour and a more imposing appearance. When the said letters are written, sealed, and ready, you will give them to one of your people, upon whom you can place dependence, and who knows how to use his tongue, making him

[1] Tegel, 1542.

disguise himself as a peasant, and ordering him to take them to the different mines in succession. Should they question him particularly, he must give some such account of himself as this: that his name is well known, and that he lives in such or such a place, and that the people of the Dales and Copper-mine districts had sent him with such and such letters. You yourself, too, upon all convenient occasions may teach him what to say and to answer. It seems to us, also, that it would not be altogether useless, if you, with each of the longer (or more important) letters, were to send off a letter of your own, so that the troops, which we have had collected in the mining districts, may be ready when you come. And we think the letters should be in number as follows:— The first to all the iron-mines in the hundred of Åkerbo and the province of Vesterås; the second to all the iron-mines in Neriké; the third to the people of Neriké generally; the fourth to the parish of Vingäckers and all the hundreds in the province of Nyköping which border upon Eastgothland, seeing that there is a disaffected party in that quarter also; the fifth to the mining districts of Eastgothland; and the sixth to the inhabitants of that province in general. And we hope that, when the people of these several places hear the contents of the letters, they will not allow themselves to be easily deceived and led astray by the brigand rabble in Småland. Even should there not be so large a reinforcement from the Dales as is set down in the letter, it will do no harm

to have the report of the numbers exaggerated. You will also yourself consider what the case requires; for all the means and contrivances which one can imagine will be necessary, therefore use all your zeal."[1]

Dacké opened the campaign of 1543 with the siege of Calmar (which he was soon compelled to raise), in addition to the burning and pillaging which had hitherto been the chief features of his military exploits. One of his generals, Eric Larson, having plundered the King's store at Söderköping, laid siege to Stekeborg, which Swanté Sturé, after a gallant defence, was, for want of food and particularly of water, obliged to surrender. Larson tried in vain to bring Sturé over to the side of the rebels: Sturé was more successful in his attempt to bring Larson over to the side of the King: and their joint influence was used with much effect in inducing the peasants of that district to lay down their arms.[2]

Other causes hastened the conclusion of the war.

The King's army, to strike terror into the Smålanders, imitated their example, and marked their progress everywhere by fire and sword. In an encounter, between Horn and Eneby, Dacké was severely wounded. This dispirited the rebels, whose cause was soon made altogether hopeless by the non-arrival of the promised aid from the Emperor and the Pals-

[1] Letter dated "Vesterås, 30th January, 1543."—R. R., D. i., fol. 26; Dip. Dal. 566.

[2] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 93; Celsius, vol. ii. p. 257.

grave on the one hand,—and the reinforcement of the King's army by some German troops, and 800 foot and 200 horse from Denmark, on the other.[1]

Dacké's only resource now was to persuade his associates that they had offended past hope of pardon, and that it was better to die on the field of battle than by the hand of the executioner. A few last flashes of courage marked the expiring struggle. Assistance from Mecklenburg arrived, but too little and too late. Dacké was compelled to cross the border, where he was betrayed by the friends he had most trusted, as he was meditating a flight into Germany. According to Tegel and other ancient writers, he was shot in Rodeby Wood, in Blekingé, in the month of August, and his body exposed on the wheel at Calmar. More recent writers, however, assert, says Messenius, that another was slain in the place of Dacké, and that he himself escaped to his colleagues in Germany, where he lived until the time of King John. He then ventured back to Sweden; but being recognised and betrayed by a former mistress, he was paraded round the streets of Stockholm with a brazen crown upon his head, and finally died there in the hospital of the plague, in 1580.[2]

[1] Celsius, vol. ii. p. 261. Gustavus writes to Lassé Jasperson on the 6th May, 1543, that the troops had returned from Småland, where they had so handled the Smålanders that they would think once or twice before they engaged again in rebellion.

[2] Tegel, 1543; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 95. Geijer, among whose many admirable qualities as an historian minute accuracy is not to be reckoned, represents Messenius as "*saying* that the true Dacké escaped to Germany." His words, however, are, after giving the first version

Some of the principal instigators of the rebellion, after it was quelled, were capitally punished. But Gustavus appears to have acted on the whole with his habitual clemency. He attributed the discontent, which had occasioned the rebellion, in no small degree to the seditious sermons of the clergy of the province. Some of that order had shown their disloyalty more openly; but he is satisfied with a very mild revenge. "As to the priests who were unfaithful to us in the late insurrection,"—he writes to his Lieutenant Axel Erickson (on the 26th of July, 1543)—"quarter yourself pretty freely upon them, when you visit in the province, that they may not be wholly unpunished for their disloyalty."[1]

Gustavus complained that the rebellion had cost him 70,000 marks (örtuger), and that it had exhausted all that in seven years of close economy he had scraped together.[2]

Just before and during this harassing and formidable outbreak, some less serious dangers from without were happily averted. During the minority of Iwan Wasiljewitsch II., the Russians had made some depredations on the Swedish frontier. There was an unexpired treaty of peace for sixty years between Russia and Sweden; but it had not been confirmed since the death of Wasilie Ivanowitsch. Gustavus, therefore,

of his death,—"Hunc tribuunt exitum Nicolao Dachio veteres quidam (quidem?) scriptores; sed recentiores asserunt alium loco Dachii ita mactatum, et ipsum profugisse Dachium ad suos in Germaniam consortes."

[1] Riks. Reg., fol. 120; Thys., vol. ii. p. 187.

[2] Geijer, ii. 125; Bruzel. Hist., 310.

in 1536, sent an embassy to Russia, and, both kingdoms having at the time need of tranquillity, all difficulties were got over, and a fresh peace of sixty years, to commence from 1537, agreed upon.[1]

A treaty made by Christian with the city of Lubeck, in the February before the surrender of Copenhagen, without the knowledge of Gustavus, to the benefits of which the latter was to be admitted only upon condition of submitting the claims of the Count of Hoya and those of Von Mehlen to the arbitration of the Danish King, had well nigh interrupted the good understanding which appeared to be guaranteed by so many powerful considerations. A report went abroad some time afterwards that Christian intended, with the help of Brandenberg and others, to place on the throne of Sweden his younger brother, who began to be called jestingly by the Danish courtiers the little King of Sweden.[2]

Protracted delays in the payment of the debt due from Christian to Gustavus increased the coolness between them, and induced the latter to listen to, or to make, some overture for a joint attack with the Palsgrave Frederic on the Danish territory. It was not until the debt had been paid up, both principal and interest, and after the Kings had met personally at Brömsebro, near Calmar, in September, 1541, that their friendly relations were re-established.[3]

[1] Tegel, 1537; Celsius, vol. ii. p. 153. [2] Dalin.
[3] Dalin, 3, vol. vi. p. 341.

At Brömsebro a little stream separated Blekingé from Småland, that is, the Danish from the Swedish frontier. Gustavus pitched his tent on a small island near the bridge with some magnificence, to which English crimson cloth in a great degree contributed. Christian encamped on his own territory on the other side of the stream. He had before visited Gustavus in his capital. It was Gustavus's turn now to visit him. Accordingly, some distinguished members of the Danish State Council having been placed as hostages in the hands of Swanté Sturé, the King crossed over. Christian met him as he landed. They then embraced each other, and an hour's free and friendly conversation smoothed the way for the treaty known as the Peace of Brömsebro; wherein it was covenanted that there should be peace between the three northern kingdoms for fifty years; that they should make no alliance, nor engage in any war, without mutual consultation; that more especially neither should enter into any treaty with the deposed King or his race, except by common consent. The Gothland question was still reserved. By an addition to the treaty, made a few days afterwards, it was agreed that, if the Lubeckers would not abide by Christian's decision in their disputes with Sweden, or if the German princes should assist Von Mehlen, Christian should give his support to Gustavus. Also, that he should use his influence to restore a good understanding between Dantzic and Sweden, and to induce Duke Albert of Prussia to send away the Swedish

refugees, to whom he had hitherto afforded an asylum.[1]

The jealousies, which had been mischievously active during many years, were thus, for a time at least, happily laid asleep.

[1] Tegel, 1541; Celsius, vol. ii. pp. 192-204.

CHAPTER XIII.

Ecclesiastical changes — Gustavus claims absolute supremacy in Church and State — The succession confirmed to his heirs — Increase of the army — Promotion of learning — His care for the prosperity of the people, and improvement of the resources of the kingdom — Commercial treaties — Establishment of a navy — Advice to his sons — Letters, &c., illustrative of this chapter.

THE period of the Dacké war was not altogether devoted to mutual plunder and bloodshed. It was an epoch marked by ecclesiastical changes of various character, and by some excellent measures for the protection and social improvement of the country, which were more or less developed during the remainder of Gustavus's reign.

The innovations in religion had, as we have seen, been one of the principal causes of the war. They were a text upon which the religious orders in Eastgothland, especially the monks and nuns of Vadstena, and the church dignitaries who had been deprived of their revenues, continually declaimed, and their discourses contributed to bring the King's government into the greatest odium and discredit. Gustavus thought that the nobles of that province had not sufficiently discountenanced these papistical movements. "From you who have the crown lands and fiefs in that province," he writes in February, 1539,

"we might well have hoped that you would have taken some pains to maintain the evangelical cause, but this is so far from being the case, that you let it drift before wind and wave, just as it may happen. To strip churches, convents, and chapters of their estates, houses, and other possessions, all of you are mighty willing, and in that fashion every man is a reformer; but Christianity depends upon things very different, and therefore we enjoin and command you not to countenance such controversies and doctrines among *us*, who should be called Christians, as are now agitated in Eastgothland."[1]

Instead of extinguishing the flame kindled by their Roman Catholic brethren, the evangelical clergy had, in the King's judgment, fanned it by their sudden and injudicious innovations, and by making common cause with them in decrying the spoliations of the Church.

He complains to the Archbishop, Laurentius Petri, in a letter dated April, 1539, "that innovations, of which he had to bear the blame, were introduced without his knowledge, and before the people by previous instruction had been prepared for them; that young preachers were sent out into the different dioceses, as ignorant and more mischievous than the old ones whom they were to displace; that he was covertly attacked in the pulpit by outcries against tyranny and tyrants, and exhortations to mercy and

[1] Vesterås, 28th February, 1539; R. R., fol. 184; Thys., vol. ii. p. 110.

pity; that the clergy wanted to be lords over Christ's heritage and to get back the sword, in which, however, they would be disappointed; and that, if *he* had not been more diligent to promote the preaching of God's pure word than they, he doubted whether it would have made the progress it had made. This," he concludes, "is the sum of all: if we hereafter find that God's word is not made known and preached by you and your counsellors in a more solid and Christianlike manner than we have hitherto found to be the case, we do not see what inclination or goodwill we can have towards it, and must deliberate upon some other course with respect to it, according to the grace which God has given us."[1]

On the arrival of George Norman, who had been recommended by Melanchthon as tutor to Prince Eric, this threat was put into execution. Under the title of Superintendent, he was in December, 1539, placed at the head of a council to control the spiritual affairs of the kingdom, to hold visitations in all the dioceses, to correct what was amiss in doctrine and discipline, and to see that there were competent, pious, and *loyal* preachers established throughout the realm.[2]

The superintendent was to have a deputy in each province called *conservator*, to whom *elders*, who

[1] Stockholm, 24th April, 1539.—R. R., fol. 190; Thys., vol. ii. p. 113.

[2] The appointment to Norman, dated "Upsala, 8th December, 1539." —Thys., vol. i. p. 122.

were to make a yearly visitation in the province, were to render a report. The conservator had power to dispose summarily of smaller matters, but on weightier points he was to consult the superintendent, to meet him at his visitations, and assist with the other conservators in forming a synod to settle the terms of Church ordinances, points of doctrine, and matters relating to schools, universities, and the support of the poor.[1] It is doubtful whether this system was ever generally established: if it had taken root, episcopacy in Sweden would have been abolished in fact, as it was, well nigh, in name a few years after.

In the course of a visitation made by Norman in 1540 in East and Westgothland he collected from the convents, &c., some mediæval treasures and a good sum of money on the King's behalf, the object being probably at once to fine those who had fostered the insurrection, and to prevent the money falling into the hands of the rebels. The Bishop of Vesterås, the adjunct of Norman, and two colleagues, were empowered to hold a similar visitation with a like object in Småland in July, 1541.[2]

[1] Instructions for the Conservator and Council of Religion in Westgothland: Nylödöse, 9th April, 1540.

[2] Diarium Vadstenense, vol. i. p. 222. "Receipt to George Norman for sundry gold, silver, plate, &c., collected by him in East and Westgothland on the King's behalf." Nerby. gård, 23rd February, 1541.—R. R., fol. 124; Thys., vol. ii. p. 157. "Authority to the Bishop of Vesterås, &c. &c., to hold a visitation in Småland, &c., and to retain for the good of the State all the silver not actually used in Divine Service." Calmar, 20th July, 1541.—R. R., fol. 173; Thys., vol. ii. p. 167.

Some instances of gross ignorance among the priesthood were detected in one of Norman's visitations. A Westgothland priest, being asked "What is the Gospel?" answered, "Baptism," and said, "We had nothing to do with the Old Testament, as it had been lost in the Flood!"[1]

After the war was over, a finishing hand was put to the Reformation, as far as legislation could accomplish it, by the ordinance of Vesterås in 1544. The King, nobles, bishops, merchants, and commons then solemnly pledged themselves never to forsake the reformed religion. Pilgrimages, saint worship, and the ceremonies especially Romish, were forbidden. Some few saints' days, as set forth in the new calendar, were still retained; and the people (lest amid these changes they should forget their obligations) were exhorted to frequent the Lord's table, to send their children to school, and to pay their tithes, from land or water, with punctuality.[2]

From this time the King bestowed the episcopal title only on the Archbishop of Upsala; the other bishops were called ordinaries, and were appointed to dioceses the limits of which were considerably diminished, "the old dioceses having been so large that the bishops could not visit and have such oversight over the clergy as necessity required." The dioceses of Upsala and Linköping were thus divided

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 111.

[2] Presteståndets Archiv., Swenska Eccles. Handb., 1500-1599, vol. i. No. 39; Thys., vol. ii. p. 192.

into three, Vesterås and Strengness each into two new sees.[1] In 1544 also the King, as the earthly head of the reformed Church in Sweden, ordered a day of general supplication to deprecate the short harvest with which the kingdom was threatened through the excessive rains. He had before claimed an absolute supremacy both in Church and State. "Look after your houses and lands, your wives and children, your flocks and herds," he said to the people of Upland in 1540, "but do not prescribe bounds to us in respect to government or religion. It is for us, on behalf of God and justice, after all natural right as a Christian King, to give you laws and ordinances, so that if you would avoid our anger and punishment you will be obedient to our royal commands both in worldly and spiritual things."[2]

A moral support had been given to the throne for which such an extensive prerogative was claimed, at Örebro, on the 4th of January, 1540, when the Crown was made hereditary in the male line. At Vesterås, in 1544, the hereditary succession was confirmed and Eric appointed Arf-Konung (Heir-King, or Crown Prince). The King's long illness in 1539, the attempt upon his life, and the insurrection in

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 98. It was not till 1557 that the *general* form of appointment to a divided see was given out, setting forth the reasons for reducing the limits of the dioceses *existing up to that time.* Vesterås, 19th June, 1557.—Thys., vol. ii. p. 396. From this it would seem that the divisions of the dioceses mentioned by Geijer were subsequent to 1557, but he gives no dates.

[2] Letter to the Commons of Disting, 1540.—R. R., apud Geijer, vol. ii. p. 99.

Småland, facilitated the passing of these measures, to the great though secret discontent of the nobles.[1]

A standing army, more completely and extensively organized than before, was another fruit of the Dacké war, and gave stability to the throne, both by the physical force which it placed at the disposal of the monarch, and the employment it afforded to the population of the districts the most pinched for a maintenance, and therefore the most prone to rebellion. In the year 1540 we find Gustavus writing to the Dalesmen, and endeavouring to reconcile them to their burders by the exemption they enjoyed from military service.

"You appeal often (he says) to old and former customs, but, if you will consider what old and former customs were, you will find that they were nothing else but to be disobedient, disloyal, and unfaithful to the proper lord and ruler of the kingdom, &c.: at the same time to take knapsack in hand, and leave wife and children, to march against the enemies of the kingdom; and whether you did yourselves any good by those old and former customs we leave you to judge. We trust, however, that, since we have had the government, we have so maintained it with soldiers that you have not been much engaged in war with its enemies, but have sat at home at ease with your wives and children, looking after the interests of your families." In January, 1543, however, we find him recruiting in the Dales, and putting the military service

[1] Tegel, 1540; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 97.

in an agreeable point of view by giving earnest money of two or three marks to each of the young recruits, with a promise of regular monthly pay, as soon as they joined the other troops engaged to crush the Dacké insurrection. After quiet was restored, having doubtless seen reason to be satisfied with this measure, he not only retained in his service many of the Dalesmen then enlisted, but continued to increase his forces from the same district.[1]

Only a small portion of the enlisted were called out in peaceable times; they remained at home providing for themselves, receiving at first a yearly pay of six marks, which was afterwards doubled; but not without a characteristic struggle on the part of the King. The pay on actual service, when the troops were subsisted at their own expense, was—as Gustavus had promised—much higher. Every foot-soldier of the army on the Russian frontier in 1558 received four marks a month, or four times the peace allowance, every lieutenant five marks, and every captain six. The pay of a horse-soldier was eight, and was complained of as insufficient. Additional troops were brought from Germany in 1543; but by far the greatest proportion of the army was composed of natives: the ratios being, in 1557—of infantry, 12,934 native to 549 German; of cavalry, 1379 to 296.[2]

[1] Letter to Dalesmen, 27th October, 1540, Dip. Dal., 553; Letter to Lassé Jasperson, 24th January, 1543, Dip. Dal., 565.

[2] C. Adlesparré, apud Geijer, vol. ii. p. 111. When in 1545 the Dalesmen complained of the six marks a-year allowed them at home

Gustavus, who had felt the inconvenience of being without Swedish officers of State sufficiently skilled in German and Latin to carry on the foreign correspondence satisfactorily, or of knowledge enough in civil law and finance to promote the reforms he meditated, in 1540 took steps towards reviving the University of Upsala, and making provision there for suitable professors.[1] This for the future supply. With the same view, from his own purse, and sometimes from other people's,[2] he enabled young men of promise to study on the Continent. In the mean time he continued to avail himself of the service of able men from abroad, as of Norman and Conrad Peutinger, or Von Pyby, as he called himself, an adventurer who came from the Netherlands in 1538, rose rapidly in the favour of Gustavus, and became his Chancellor, but afterwards fell into disgrace, and, being convicted of embezzlement, died at Vesterås after some years of imprisonment.

as insufficient, Gustavus told them that they had great reason to be content, for they were bound before God and man to defend their country, even if they got nothing for it.—R. R., fol. 11; Dip. Dal., 592.

[1] Letter to Nils Månson, Vesterås, August, 1538; R. R., fol. 153; Thys., vol. ii. p. 103. Upsalensem instaurat academiam, quæ hactenus xx. propemodum annis fuisset desolata."—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 86.

[2] Letter to the Burgomaster and Council of Stockholm to send 100 dollars to Dantzic on account of Olof Larson, Grispholm, 31st August, 1543.—R. R., fol. 150; Thys., vol. ii. p. 189. To the Bishop and Chapter of Strengness the King writes in May, 1544, requiring them to advance to Bennet Olson the students' rents which had accrued during the last year or two. "If," he adds, "you can besides assist and befriend him, we shall be glad."—R. R., fol. 140; Thys., vol. ii. p. 221.

An elaborate scheme for the ecclesiastical and civil reform of the country, framed by the counsels of these two, including a stringent system of mounted police, seems not to have been brought into operation generally. But a part perhaps of that scheme, afterwards more fully developed by the King, and drawn out with his own hand—viz. the establishment of a board of public accounts, consisting of an accountant-general and four members, and of a regular system of book-keeping, of rules for passing the accounts at given periods, and for furnishing the King with a balance-sheet, so that he might at a glance understand his financial position—was a lasting benefit to the State.[1]

The King's correspondence shows that he was ever on the alert to promote, together with the higher interests, the material prosperity of Sweden, to embellish it by means of art and science; and for these purposes to avail himself of the resources of more advanced and polished kingdoms. Thus we find him writing to Amsterdam for engineers, architects, and painters; to Utrecht for painters, sculptors, and carpet-weavers; to Lubeck for a good apothecary, physician, and surgeon; to various places for miners, copper-founders, gunmakers, stovemakers, goldsmiths, builders, stonemasons, glassblowers, and gardeners.[2]

Upon his mines a large share of attention was

[1] Tegel, 1552; Dalin, vol. iii. ch. vi. p. 331.

[2] Letters in the Riks. Register in 1539 1541, and 1549, referred to by Dalin, vol. iii. ch. vi. p. 1. Hans Freise was engaged to set all the King's gardens in order during the summer, but in winter to weave damask for the Queen.

bestowed. He first provided for their effectual draining, and, as they were not only a public but a local benefit, he required the towns and people in the neighbourhood to assist in that operation. Thus, to drain the old copper-mine, the town of Gefle had to supply two good cables, and the peasants of the district a certain amount of labour.[1] Labour being scarce in the mining districts, he diverted thither a part of the surplus population of the Dales, by the promise of constant employment. He entered into the minutest details of cost and management, required the most exact account of the fuel consumed in the production of the ores; and when his son Eric informed him that at Garpeberget a certain quantity of wood produced a certain quantity of ore, he inquires whether he is to understand pure ore, as, without knowing *that*, he might be deceived in his calculation.[2] To cheapen the cost of fuel at the silver-mine he wrote himself to the East Dalesmen, wishing to know "why he should pay more for wood delivered there than others charged for better wood delivered at the copper-mine," and finished by settling the price he was content to give.[3] The half-tun of ore at the eastern silver-mine, according to the official accounts sent to the King, produced less silver than formerly; he directs Jochim, the silver-merchant, and Olof

[1] Letter to the town of Gefle, 26th January, 1553; R. R., fol. 12; Dip. Dal., 802; Lett. R. R., 1556; R. R., fol. 167; Dip. Dal., 842; see Appendix to this Chapter.

[2] Letter to Duke Eric, 25th October, 1554; Dip. Dal., 828

[3] Letter, 26th March, 1551; R. R., fol. 67; Dip. Dal., 775

Knutson to ascertain on the spot how much it actually produced, and at the same time to have an eye (without being observed) to the local overseers; also to inform him whether the half-tun there were not larger than at Sala.[1]

Only five years before his death he enjoins his sons Eric and John to see that the silver and other mines be provided with wood, charcoal, and other necessaries, while it was still the season to sledge; to take advantage of the same season to transport the lead from the mines; and, in sending them the sealed-up keys of the lead-warehouse, he suggests that they had better not let them go out of their possession.[2]

The great copper-mine, notwithstanding the King's exertions in 1533, did not pay expenses, and in 1554 was not at work; but that at Garpenberg was highly remunerative, and the silver-mine at Sala, which in the year 1506 produced 32,216 marcs (lödiga) of silver, in the year 1539, after Gustavus had freed it from water, produced 47,994 marcs.[3] The principal iron-mines in the kingdom had in 1532 been given up to a German named Piper, and a company which was chartered for the purpose of introducing into the country persons skilled in mining. As they

[1] Letter dated Gripsholm, 12th September, 1548; R. R., fol. 170; Dip. Dal., 730.

[2] Letter dated Gripsholm, 20th January, 1555; R. R., fol. 10; Dip. Dal., 831.

[3] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 130. The silver produced at Sala in 1842 was only 3717, at Fahlun in the same year, 395; together, 4112 marks. —Forsell. Stat., p. 167.

failed to fulfil that part of their contract to the King's satisfaction, he himself took the thing in hand, brought over from the continent smelters and smiths, and established several smelting-houses and forges for iron and steel: and from these private establishments of the King the manufacture of bar-iron spread throughout the kingdom. Gustavus paid particular attention to this article, complaining when he found it defective, and requiring the different founders to place upon it a particular mark, that they who brought the Swedish iron into disrepute by their bad workmanship might be known and punished.[1] The manufacture, it need scarcely be said, is now one of the chief resources of the country, and it is from the best Swedish iron that London and Sheffield supply the cutlery which is the admiration of the world.

Gustavus, though in some points he gave just offence to the farmers, was upon the whole well entitled to be called their friend. By a revived system of taxation, the leading principle of which was to assess the land, not according to the number of occupants, but according to its extent and other circumstances, he relieved the smaller farmers from an oppressive injustice.[2] At the same time he discouraged by every argument and legitimate means the crowding of families on farms too small for their

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 131. Letter to the Hammersmiths in the diocese of Vesterås, 14th August, 1550; R. R., fol. 124; Dip. Dal., 765.

[2] Letter to the Dalesmen, 27th October, 1540; R. R., fol. 63; Dip. Dal., 553.

maintenance—finding employment (as we have seen) for some at the mines, for others in the army; and inducing others to make farms for themselves in the yet uncleared forests. "Sweden and Finland," writes the King, "are, God be praised, of such wide extent that there is not much need to seek or cry out for space for corn-fields or meadows, or any other sort of productive lands.[1] He did not approve of the farmer eking out a maintenance by combining a petty trade with his proper vocation. "Let farmers remain farmers," he said, echoing and enforcing an existing law, "and tradespeople tradespeople: if farmers want to be tradespeople, let them go and live in the market-towns."[2]

His counsels extended sometimes to small and obvious, but probably neglected, points of husbandry. He exhorted the farmers to plant hop-gardens, to build kilns, to drain their corn-fields, and *to ring their swine.*[3] At a State-meeting at Upsala in 1546, where all luxury of dress was forbidden, the King's hand appears in the appended maxim—"The common people's best pride and ornament is to have their corn-fields, meadows, and other lands well cultivated and in good condition, with malt and meal in the garner, and meat in the house."[4] He discouraged the manufacture of brandy both on moral grounds

[1] Letter to the East and West Dalesmen, 21st September, 1553; R. R., fol. 74; Dip. Dal., 811; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 130.

[2] Letter dated Vesterås, 19th January, 1544; R. R., fol. 3; Dip. Dal., 674.

[3] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 127.

[4] Dalin, vol. iii. ch. vii.

and because of the quantity of corn consumed by it. He himself farmed on a large scale. In the latter half of his reign he had farms, purchased by himself, in all parts of the kingdom, in several of which both agriculture and the rearing of cattle were conducted on a large scale. At Gripsholm Queen Margaret had the superintendence of so large a dairy-farm that it required two-and-twenty maid-servants to manage it.[1] In many of the estates there were the usual results of gentleman-farming: they did not pay expenses. On the other hand, no doubt, the breed of cattle was improved, and the public profited at the cost of the amateur.

In central Sweden, covered with immense tracts of pine-wood, it was Gustavus's policy to encourage the clearing of space for new farms, but he forbade this in the oak and beech forests of the south, which were of less extent and more valuable. These he protected from trespass by heavy penalties; while, by the introduction of saw-mills, for which the numerous streams of Sweden afforded great facilities, he turned her forest-wealth to the best account.[2] The only trace of a game-law which has fallen under my eye is a prohibition to destroy the elks in the forests of Dalecarlia, though these, like the fisheries, were preserved not for sport but for revenue.[3]

[1] Stjerneld, apud Geijer, vol. ii. p. 125.

[2] Tegel. According to a rough estimate, the number of saw-mills of all sorts in Sweden in 1842 was about 4600.—Forsell's Statist, p. 130.

[3] Gripsholm, 15th April, 1548; Dip. Dal., 721. "The skin (of the elk) is convertible to many purposes and is very valuable." Mr.

If Gustavus must yield the palm to other royal road-makers, he was not inattentive to a matter of so much importance: he meditated also the establishment of public carriages, an accommodation of which Sweden until lately was wholly deficient, and he both projected and commenced the canal of Väddö, which was completed only in the present age.[1]

During a considerable part of his reign the treaty with Lubeck was a stone about the King's neck, and prevented any exertions for opening fresh channels of foreign commerce. But he was no sooner freed from that encumbrance than he strove to establish commercial treaties wherever an opportunity offered.

He corresponded with James the Fifth of Scotland, with a view of promoting between that country and Sweden a trade in horses; and concluded a treaty with England in 1550, which caused a temporary suppression of a company of the Hanse Towns in London, called the Steel-yard Company, who, however, recovered their privileges under Mary in 1555.[2] His maxim that the navigation of the seas ought to be free did not prevent his applying, in 1556, to that Queen (but in vain) to forbid her subjects trading to Archangel, and to enjoin them rather to go to Elfs-

Grieff says,—"It is not long since that a regiment was clothed with buff waistcoats made from the hides of those animals, which were so thick that a ball could scarcely penetrate them." He adds further, "that when made into a pair of breeches a pair of them among the peasantry of former days went as a legacy for several generations."—Lloyd's Northern Field Sports, vol. ii. p. 301.

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 137.

[2] Dalin, vol. iii. ch. i. pp. 6-8.

borg (near Gottenborg), "which lies in the Atlantic and has a good harbour." Had the boon been granted it might not at first have been very valuable, for the burghers of this favoured town were, it seems, simple-minded folks, who had not yet learned the true trick of trading. Instead of combining, they "got about the ships and merchants fresh come in, like a herd of swine," as the King complains, and so ran up the price of the wares imported.[1]

To give a further impulse to the foreign commerce, Gustavus, having ascertained what assortments of Swedish goods were best for obtaining in return—from France salt and wine; from England cloth, tin, and lead; from the Netherlands silks, linen, spices, and sugar; from Denmark saltpetre and hops; from Germany swords, armour, brass-wares, haberdashery, or miscellaneous goods,—circulated throughout the trading towns the result of his inquiries. A plan to set up Helsingfors in Finland as the rival of Revel and Riga failed: but a year before the King's death the foreign commerce of the country—the exports of which were copper, iron, wood, tar, butter, fish-oil, seal-oil, salmon, eels, hides, goats, and horses—employed sixty-two ships, the aggregate burthen of which was 3150 lasts.[2]

To protect this commerce, and to maintain the honour and security of the kingdom, Gustavus

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 136.

[2] Stjernman, Commerce och. Œcon. Förordningar, vol. i. p. 109; J. Bergius, Stockholm för 200 år sedan; apud Geijer, vol. ii. p. 135.

established a navy, the want of which he had often occasion to lament in the earlier part of his career. Skilful shipbuilders, brought over from Venice, built him galleys after the Venetian pattern, and of them the Fins learned so well that they soon excelled their masters. Some of his men-of-war were of great size. The "Elephant," employed in the war with Lubeck, carried more guns, but of less calibre, than an English seventy-four, and, besides a crew of 300 men, had accommodation for 1000 soldiers.[1]

When we consider that these plans, embracing so great a variety of objects, were for the most part originated or modified by Gustavus personally; that numerous documents and a voluminous correspondence exist for their regulation and development, dictated, if not written, by himself; that, not leaving it wholly to subordinates to work out the schemes which he had suggested or adopted, he pursued them often into the minutest details of their operation, and that, if there was any failure, or want of progress, he was not satisfied until he had ascertained the cause and applied a remedy,—we may well be surprised at the amount of labour which one man, in the space of a few brief years, was able to accomplish.

His advice to his sons, however, in some degree explains the mystery. "You should," he said, "consider well, execute with vigour, and stick to your purpose, putting off nothing until the morrow. Resolves not carried out at the right moment are like

[1] Dalin, vol. iii. chap. vi.; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 139.

clouds without rain in a sore drought."[1] His own purposes, never needlessly procrastinated, like clouds pouring out their riches in due season upon a parched but not ungrateful soil, were followed, year by year, by harvests continually increasing in variety and abundance.

LETTERS, &c.,

ILLUSTRATIVE OF THIS CHAPTER.

No. 1.

Gustavus to the Soldiers enlisted in the Dales.

Stockholm, January 6th, 1545.

WE are informed that some of you give out that you neither can nor will serve us for the pay we give you at present, viz. six marks (örtuger) å-year, but ask that your pay may be increased. Now it seems to us, good fellows, that you are, in such a request, altogether unreasonable. For if you will only consider the thing properly, and as it really is, you will perceive that far greater favour and grace is shown you than any of your forefathers ever experienced from any former king or ruler of the kingdom, inasmuch as, if we even gave you no such pay, you would still be in duty bound before God and all the world

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 118.

(in common with the other people of the realm) to serve against its enemies, when necessity required. But now, out of our especial good will and grace, we give you that pay, though you absolutely render us no service in return, but remain at home looking after your own interests with your wives, children, friends, and kindred; and have scarce any of you so much as crossed the road for the pay aforesaid. We cannot, therefore, but think that we do more than we ought, and more than any ruler or prince before us ever did, and yet they had such help from the Dale districts, that their services were always willingly, and in such force as the Prince required, available against the enemies of the kingdom, as often happened in former times; and within our own remembrance at Vesterås, at Balingås, and at Brännkyrka, on Good Friday at Upsala, and since, in our time, when they went out with us. Yet then they were not given one penny, and did their duty notwithstanding as faithful Swedes, without grumbling or ill-will.

Now, we much prefer paying the State's money to you, who are born in the kingdom, than to foreign troops; and this with the design of gaining your good will and thanks; also, we had rather maintain you than strangers, and therefore considered that we had earned from you more thankfulness than we in fact perceive. However, we have little more to say, than that, if in these peaceable times, and while we make no more use of you than at present, you are willing for such a fair yearly pay to remain in our and the

kingdom's service, we are still willing to let you enjoy it; if not, please yourselves; only let us know in time, and then no doubt we shall be able to find foreign troops as we have hitherto done. But if in these peaceable times you are content with the aforesaid pay (and in all reason you cannot be otherwise), when at any future time we require your services against our or the kingdom's enemies, we will increase your pay according to what is fair and reasonable. * * And we pray that you will bethink you, and consider that we could not so throw away and unthriftily spend the kingdom's money, except greater need and danger were stirring than there is. Furthermore, let our commandant, Lars Jasperson, know your decision, that he may when he comes hither inform us of it.

Dip. Dal., 592.

No. 2.

LATER in the year he writes to his general, Nils Larson, that he "is content that he should give each of the soldiers enlisted by him in the eastern Dales six marks in hand, provided it was reckoned to them as a *half*-year's pay."

R. R., 1545, p. 209; Dip. Dal., 606.

No. 3.

Gustavus to Prince Eric.

DEAR SON, Vasby, November 20th, 1554.

THIS is to inform you that we had with us lately a foreign hydraulic engineer, named Jacob Essell, who informs us that he and two smiths associated with him, named Peter Jordan and Hans Hjelmsmed, have lately discovered a remarkable manner of raising water out of mines which are a hundred fathoms deep and more, and we have never heard of such a power as he says he has thereby at command, so that with one horse he can raise out of a pool, upon a wheel, so much water, that it shall fall upon the wheel in a broad stream, and eleven *skoer* (feet?) high, and even more; and that the water which is thus raised shall drive and raise the rest, so that by the same contrivance all the water can at last be drained from the mines. He has also given us to understand that he can mechanically raise heavy weights of all kinds, and that he can construct mills of every description; for instance, flour-mills, powder-mills, hammer-mills, and saw-mills, in still and standing water. At the same time he can raise water, both stagnant and flowing, as high as is wished, both up to castles and other places. And the aforesaid Jacob, who has engaged himself in our service, both upon his own and his comrades' behalf, has now gone to Germany to fetch them, and has promised to return with them in the beginning of the year with the first open water.

Nya Handlingar rörande Skandinaviens Hist., Stockholm, 1843, 16 Del., p. 1.

No. 4.

Gustavus to the East Dalesmen.

Gripsholm, March 26th, 1551.

WE give you to understand, all you our commons (Dannemen) who dwell in the eastern Dales, and are accustomed to cut wood for the use of the works at the old silver-mine, that we are informed you do us great injustice in the cutting, in that you cut the wood much shorter and smaller than you do at the copper-mine, and always sell every pile (*staffrum*)[1] dearer than it is worth there.

Now, as it is well known the wood has to be carried much farther at the copper-mine than at the old silver-mine, and that at the copper-mine they do not pay more than two *öré* for a fair pile of mine-wood both for the cutting and carriage, whereas upon the old silver-mine you take for some piles of mine-wood two *öré* and a sixth, and for some two *öré* and a third; from this sort of dealing we suffer great injury, and we do not see that we are bound to throw away our money more than others, and we think we have deserved of you to have our wood as cheap as any one. Therefore it is our will and injunction that you will henceforth amend your ways, and let us have as great advantages as others are accustomed to enjoy, cutting and carrying good and fair piles of wood both for the mine and for the furnace to the aforesaid old silver-mine works, and we will pay you for every pile

[1] The pile, or *staffrum*, is about a cubic yard.

of mine-wood delivered up at the silver-mine two *öré*, and for every pile of furnace-wood delivered at our smelting-houses two *öré*; hoping that you will herein prove yourselves obedient subjects.[1]

R. R., p. 53; Dip. Dal., 775.

No. 5.

Gustavus to the Commons of the Town of Geflé.

Calmar, January 26th, 1553.

WE give you to understand, trusty subjects, that, for the advantage of the inhabitants of the kingdom generally, we have resolved to drain and clear out the old Copperberg's mine, in order that the poor men who live there may again benefit thereby, and that the Crown also may reap more advantage than is possible in its present state. And seeing that, amongst many other things which we must be at the expense of, certain ropes are especially needed, it is our gracious will and request that you, trusty subjects, come to our assistance from the town of Geflé with two good cables of such length and thickness as our architect, Powell Schutz, shall point out to you. If this be arranged according to our desire, we shall graciously remember it on your behalf.

R. R., 1553, fol. 12; 802.

[1] Eight öré = 1 mark. See Appendix.

No. 6.

Gustavus to his Overseer, Eric Michelsson.

Calmar, January 28th, 1553.

WE gather from thy letter, Eric Michelsson, that the coppermine remains still in its old plight, so that it does not repay the cost and trouble expended upon it. This bad news we are very unwilling to hear, and should be glad if thou wouldst just contrive for once to send us better. We will also have thee admonished that thou exert thyself more for our interest than has hitherto happened, if indeed we are to agree long together.

As thou givest us to understand that the peasants will forthwith bring to the mine the timber and what else shall be needed for the building which M. Powell is to erect there, and that the dams are now ready—this we are not sorry to hear, and have written to M. Powell to go thither immediately and complete the building.

In regard to thy request for a contribution in money or provisions from Helsingland for the support of the carpenters who shall be at work at the mine, we are astonished that thou shouldst not have written to tell us how many they will be, and what provision upon a fair allowance they will require. When thou shalt have informed us upon these points we will give a further answer.

We have also written to the burghers of Geflé to provide us with the two cables required at the old

mine, and that they should do so by way of an aid to us. We have also commanded M. Powell to let the burghers know how long and thick the said cable ropes should be.

As thou sayest that the miners pray that we will assist them this winter with meal, which they will pay for, we should not be indisposed thereto if we knew how much meal was required, and how much we should get for the *spann*. After we know this we will let thee hear further on the subject.

P.S. We send thee 200 marks for the use of the works.

R. R., 1553, fol. 14; Dip. Dal., 803.

No. 7.

Gustavus to his Overseer, Rasmus Ragvaldson.

Stockholm, February 10th, 1554.

THIS is to inform thee that we have agreed with the bearer of this letter, George Powelson, steel-smith, that he shall proceed to Betsberg, and there erect a steel-forge on our account; and it is our will that thou arrange it so that the aforesaid George be placed in the smithy with the other hammersmiths, who forge bar-iron: we also command thee to let him have in the said smithy the room he may require, likewise what provisions he may need, while at his work; and we wish thee to know that we have agreed to give him twelve *öre* for every *shippund* of steel he can forge.

R. R., 1554, fol. 18; Dip. Dal., 824.

No. 8.

Gustavus to his Overseer, Iöns Pedersson.

Stockholm, February 17th, 1554.

KNOW, Iöns Pedersson, that the bearers of this letter, Martin of Raffwalshytta and Laghé of Bergsäng, have been before us here, and informed us that they who live close to the Garpeberg mine humbly pray that they may be allowed to procure and smelt (bruka) copper as they have done aforetime, and they have promised to give us every tenth pound of all the copper produced by their operations; and that we are contented that they shall work upon these terms. Thou must however contrive that whenever they set up and smelt copper, some one may be always on the spot who may be on the look-out to see that we are treated fairly, and that they have not the opportunity of concealing or abstracting any part, and thus diminishing the tithe which they have promised.[1]

R. R., 1554, fol. 22; Dip. Dal., 825.

No. 9.

Gustavus to Marcus Hammarsmed.

Upsala, June 6th, 1553.

WE have understood that you mean to commence the hammersmithy at Fällsbro upon a very

[1] On the 19th April, 1552, Gustavus had written to his overseer at Retsberget, complaining that some took the ore home and there smelted it, which gave them an opportunity of dealing with the portion they procured as they pleased. He concludes by requiring them to erect their smelting-houses close to the mine.

grand and extravagant scale, and to set up two forges in one building—as if it were to be some cathedral—according to your usual wont. Now you must understand that we in no wise wish you to build such grand cathedrals, and at such a heavy cost, since it does not much signify what the building is, providing the forge be good.

Geijer, vol. ii. p. 132.

No. 10.

Gustavus to the East and West Dalesmen.

Främby, September 21st, 1553.

* * * * * * *

YOU are well aware that we have given to those enlisted in our service, both in your parishes and in other parts of the kingdom, our money year by year, in order that, if necessity arose, we might have an efficient force to employ against the enemies of the kingdom. But we have now ourself seen that they, who have enlisted troops on behalf of ourself and the realm, have been careless whether the troops taken into our service were efficient or not, and so have taken useless, timid striplings and young boys, no less than serviceable, manly, and strong young men—from which carelessness both we and the kingdom have suffered much damage. In order therefore, dear subjects, that our money may be expended hereafter to the most advantage for the State, &c. &c., we should be glad that you who are come to a ripe age, and have more understanding than the young

generation, that has grown and shot up within the last few years, will give your assistance, so that we may have in our service the most serviceable, smartest, and strongest young fellows to be found in your parishes, and that the useless, boyish lot, that can render no service for the pay they receive, may be discharged.

Furthermore, dear subjects, as the Dale districts are populous, and upon one farm three, four, and in some places more couples are located, so that they cannot provide themselves with a maintenance from their farms, but must needs seek a livelihood elsewhere, and have many of them been accustomed accordingly to leave their district and work for their support—we would willingly arrange it so that they who wish to earn money, et cetera, but do not wish to go far in search of them, should find employment nearer at hand, viz. at our mines, both at the copper-mine, at the east and west silver-mines, and other places. Therefore let those of you who are inclined to earn money proceed to the said mines, and you shall have such fair wages as you receive elsewhere.

R. R., 1553, fol. 74 ; Dip. Dal., 811.

No. 11.

Gustavus to the Parishioners of Swärdsjö.

Linköping, February 17th, 1555.

WE have understood that some of you will not fully adopt the fatherly counsel and injunctions which we have often given you, that they who have not

farms to cultivate and live by should clear away and make farms for themselves in the woods, where they can find the opportunity, and not hang and press upon one another, two, three, four, and more upon one farm, which in this district has been much the case, and through which many farms are subdivided,[1] the Crown rents diminished, and almost all who so press upon each other impoverished and crushed to the earth. The present dearth and dear time in this district has been occasioned by this,—that the one presses so on the other as aforesaid, and that only a part will willingly follow our fatherly counsel, while some, we understand, will not follow it, but enclose the whole adjoining country for the poor advantage gained by them from the wild birds and beasts which they capture in the forest. This we can by no means permit any longer, but now, as before, make known by this our public proclamation that they who desire to take up and clear away farms where there is opportunity, for the benefit of the Crown, are free to do so,

[1] Speaking of the Dalecarlians of the present day, Mr. Laing says,—"It is an evil attending their adherence to their ancient dress and modes of living, that they have acquired no habits or tastes counteracting the tendency to over-multiplication, no expensive wants rendering marriage incompatible with habitual gratifications or with social standing. They have, for want of these checks, married and multiplied and divided their little properties to an extent similar to what, from the same cause, takes place among the tenantry in Ireland. Government under different reigns has attempted to check this subdivision of property by establishing a minimum, but such an arbitrary interference with the rights of property of course has failed: for what law can come between buyer and seller, or parents and children in family arrangements?"—Laing's Sweden, p. 221.

especially in places where it will not be attended with injury to other farms. And we have directed our bailiff, Iöns Olofson, to assist those who are willing to take up farms upon the aforesaid conditions; forbidding, accordingly, all to offer any hindrance or to injure in any respect the aforesaid Iöns Olofson, or those who are willing to clear for themselves farms, on pain of incurring the penalty belonging to a breach of the peace.

From a copy of one of the documents in Swärdsjö Church.—Dip. Dal., 832.

No. 12.

Gustavus to his Bailiff at Norberg, Nils Helsing.

Gripsholm, March 7th, 1551.

KNOW, Nils Helsing, that the bearers, Lassé Nielson and Peder Truelson, have been with us, and upon behalf of the people belonging to Folkanna, By, and Grytness parishes, have asked leave to buy, during this winter and the ensuing spring, as much iron-ore as they can purchase to pay their taxes; and now thou wilt remember, Nils, what we told thee, when we were last in the mine district, respecting this iron-making, that we could by no means permit them who do not live at the mine to carry on a pedling trade in iron, and thereby neglect and ruin their corn-lands and meadows, as hath been too much the case hitherto, to their own and the Crown's no small damage: but we perceive that our injunctions

have borne little fruit, seeing that they still seek every opportunity of running after iron as much as ever. And possibly it is thou who hast sent the bearers to petition for the above-mentioned conditions. If so, understand that their errand gives us small content, and that we would fain have thee discourage them from that iron-making instead of encouraging them therein. However, we are content that for this winter and the ensuing spring they may buy iron-ore at Norberg, &c.; but another year we can by no means permit it, and this thou mayst positively tell them all.

R. R., 1551, fol. 53; 774.

No. 13.

Gustavus to the People in the Mine Districts, and in other provinces, respecting the many Country Dealers who there drive a trade.

Westerås, January 19th, 1544.

WE Gustavus, with God's grace, &c., proclaim, that seeing that the market-towns generally and all the silver-miners, copper-miners, iron-miners, and others who dwell in this province, as well as the market-towns and mining districts (of) Eastgothland, Westgothland, and Småland, have now loudly complained of the many country traders who in Småland, and Westgothland, and many parts of the kingdom, travel about and, quite against the law of Sweden, drive a great country trade, and carry thereto almost all their wares, butter, oxen, horses,

and whatever else is in demand, to the great injury and ruin of the market-towns and of the Crown mines, inasmuch as the poor men who work the Crown mines can procure in the neighbouring towns neither oxen nor other necessaries to supply themselves and maintain their own and the Crown's mine-works, to the great injury of the kingdom in general; therefore have they humbly and with one mouth prayed and entreated us that we will take some course for putting down such unlawful country traders: and inasmuch as such country trading is clean contrary to the article of the law of Sweden which provides, "whomsoever the King's lieutenant or officer finds driving any country trade, whether they be soldiers, pages, priests, retainers, peasants, or other men, take from him what he bought or sold and 20 marks to boot:" * * * and seeing moreover that such country traders will soon, through their unlawful dealings, bring almost all the market-towns in the kingdom to ruin, therefore it is not fitting that we should permit or wink at such intolerable proceedings: Therefore we enjoin our lieutenants, officers, and all others, and especially those in the provinces of Småland and Westgothland, that they, upon peril of their necks, will not countenance or permit any peasants, soldiers, &c., to trade in the country in any sort of merchandise, or to permit that butter, oxen, horses, and other merchantable articles be carried out of the kingdom, in consideration of its actual circumstances, that provisions and

other wares may not rise and be so enormously dear, upon pain of the penalty aforesaid. Also we command you, all the rest, who are accustomed to follow such-like country trading, to desist from it from this day, taking heed to your corn-fields, meadows, and other things with which peasants are accustomed to support themselves, letting traders remain traders and peasants peasants, as Sweden's law prescribes. If, however, any have a desire to follow trade, let them remove to the market-towns, and there trade, since they are so minded; but if any one venture to act contrary to this our command, which in conformity with Sweden's law and at the general voice and prayer we again enjoin, the same will have incurred our wrath and punishment, and that penalty which is in the law provided.[1]

R. R., 1544, fol. 3; Dip. Dal., 674.

[1] Upon the restrictions in respect to country trading, which it seems are still continued, Mr. Laing very justly observes,—"The restraints upon the exercise of trades and sale of wares press heavily upon these people (the Dalesmen), whose wandering traffic in summer is absolutely necessary to their subsistence, as their portions of land could not keep them all the year round. It is winked at by the authorities as a matter of necessity, and complained of by the privileged tradesmen and dealers as inroads upon their rights and means of living. But, in fact, with a climate rendering the keep of servants and workmen very burdensome in winter in many branches of industry, as in agriculture, in which nothing in winter can be done, a class of people who keep themselves all winter on their own little farm produce, manufacturing all sorts of tools and useful wares and selling them in summer for a mere living, are more suitable for the present state of Sweden than a total separation of agricultural and manufacturing labour."—Laing's Sweden, p. 233. Gustavus might himself have remembered that he was obliged to find employment for his gardeners at the loom during the long winter.

No. 14.

Gustavus to the Commons of Mora Parish.

Gripsholm, April 15th, 1548.

WE have understood that there are many among you, who would willingly conform to the law of Sweden, and in like manner to that royal prohibition which we have frequently sent forth, and more particularly through our trusty men and council who were last in your district, concerning the elks which frequent your woods, which they would fain have seen permitted to range freely, to the intent that they may increase and multiply; but we understand that there are some among you who, in defiance of the law and our royal prohibition aforesaid, do nothing else after Lady-day but go hunting after the elks, shoot, and destroy them, and often so as to kill elk and fawn together, to your own loss, &c. We therefore enjoin and solemnly command you to refrain from shooting the said elks, and that you will yourselves assist in order that they who do so may be properly punished.

R. R., 1548; Dip. Dal., 721.

No. 15.

Gustavus to Michael Helsing.

Kungsör, April 1st, 1549.

WE wrote some time since to certain parishes in the Dales on the subject of some woodcutters, &c.; and it is now our wish and injunction that thou pro-

cure us up in the Dales a hundred woodcutters, letting them come immediately to our estate at Räffness, and that thou give each in hand a mark örtiger. We have so arranged that when they come to Räffness they shall cut down and clear away certain woodlands, and afterwards scrub up the roots. Whatever more they may demand (or deserve) shall be given them: this thou mayst hold out to them. It is also our wish that thou let us know how it fares with the works at the Coppermine, &c.

R. R., 1549, fol. 77; 740.

No. 16.

Gustavus to Anders Ersson.

Kungsör, April 11th, 1549.

As we understand, Anders, that meal is selling at a good price at the mine, viz. a span of corn 7 öré, a span of rye 9 öré, a span of ryemeal 10 öré, and a span of barleymeal for a mark, it is our wish and command that thou sell the miners our meal at the highest current price.

R. R., 1549, fol. 97; 745.

No. 17.

Gustavus to his Bailiff Lassé Jasperson.

Kungsör, April 7th, 1549.

IT being our intention to set up a little breeding-farm at the Coppermine, &c., it is our wish and request that thou make over to us thy estate at Holm, and we will give thee instead as good an estate, paying the same rent and in equally good condition; and, if any of thy coheirs have now a share and interest therein, that thou wilt negotiate with them so that we may have the whole of the said estate at once. Thou wilt give us thy answer and determination upon this matter as soon as possible.

CHAPTER XIV.

Assumption by Christian of the arms of Sweden — Remonstrance of Gustavus — War with Russia, and treaty of peace — Death of Queen Margaret — Gustavus marries Catherine Stenbock — His will — Discontent of Eric — His proceedings at Calmar — Seeks the hand of the Princess Elizabeth of England — Prince John's unsuccessful mission — Marriage of the Princess Catherine — Imprudent conduct of the Princess Cecilia — Grief of the King.

THE assumption on the part of Denmark of the three crowns, which were the arms of Sweden before the Union, threatened to interrupt in 1548 the tranquillity which followed the Dacké war. By the counsel of his Chancellor Fris, Christian assumed the device; and his daughter Anna, who married the Saxon Duke Augustus in that year, paraded it on her carriages, and on an escutcheon, which hung out before the inns where she stopped on her way to Saxony.[1] To the remonstrances of Gustavus Christian replied with good humour, that the Princess had no doubt been too much occupied with her nuptials to observe how her arms were emblazoned, and that it was by mere accident that the painter had placed the three crowns in such a position as to resemble the arms of Sweden. It was not a matter to resent.

"Pictoribus atque poetis
Quidlibet audendi semper fuit æqua potestas."

[1] Tegel. 1548.

Gustavus suffered himself to be contented for a while with this excuse; but when, some years after, the state seal of Denmark appeared with the arms of Sweden under those of Norway and Denmark, and letters, sealed with that seal, were sent to himself, he no longer concealed his displeasure. "I am vastly astonished" (he wrote to Christian in 1557) "that so enlightened a King should in his old age have discovered a petulance, from which in his younger years he was free. You have taken a step, upon which neither Frederic nor any of his predecessors ever ventured. It is not the way to preserve peace and friendship. It is not what I have deserved at your hand. Neither the three lions" (Denmark's arms) "nor the axe of St. Olof" (Norway's) "would have secured you the throne of Denmark, if the three crowns, of which I am the rightful bearer, had refused their aid. We have hitherto lived in unity; why should we in our latter days provoke one another? All the world are talking of the design of Denmark to subjugate Sweden. You will not acknowledge such design in words; but your deeds bespeak its existence. One more hasty than myself would have tried, ere now, sword in hand, to erase the three crowns from the Danish escutcheon.[1] But I will still be patient, to prove how anxious I am for peace." Christian replied shortly, that there was no sinister intention or insult meant by what had been done; but rather a

1 "The Danes said it would take sharp teeth and claws to do so."—Geijer.

wish to preserve a memorial of the union which had so long existed between the three kingdoms.[1] This excuse was not well calculated to allay suspicions, and the war with Denmark, thus twice provoked, was only postponed to break out with fury after the death of Gustavus.

In 1554 Russia declared war against Sweden, on the ground that Gustavus's lieutenants had levied taxes upon twenty parishes within the Russian territory. The boundaries of the two kingdoms were in fact a matter of dispute. The Russian relied upon the definition put forth in certain letters of former Kings of Sweden, of which no record remained in the Swedish chancery: Gustavus upon the boundaries which had been recognised during the memory of the oldest of those living on the frontier. In November a force of 8000 Russians crossed into Finland, and took away all the corn which had been recently gathered.[2] Another division, which marched early in the next year to Vibourg, dealing fire and slaughter wherever it went, was drowned at Räfvelunda, where the ice gave way under them. But an army of 30,000 was soon again upon the Swedish frontier; and so imminent was the danger, that Gustavus thought it necessary to be himself at the side of the generals, whom he appointed to repel the invader. During his absence he committed the government to his son Eric. His second son, John, accompanied him on the expedition.

[1] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 102; Celsius, vol. ii. p. 327.

[2] Celsius, vol. ii. p. 310.

The campaign, however, was anything but brilliant on either side. It consisted but of reciprocal plunderings and cruelties, and Gustavus was glad to terminate the unsatisfactory contest; the rather that the cost of the war was enormous, that sickness reigned in his ranks, and that the help, which the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order and the King of Poland had promised, did not arrive. The Czar's own designs upon Livonia inclined him to accommodation. A truce of six months was followed by a treaty of peace, concluded at Moscow, 2nd of April, 1557,—the prisoners taken in the late war to be mutually released, and a meeting of 100 men of each nation to be held in 1559, at the River Woxen, to agree upon the boundary.[1]

The latter years of Gustavus were marked by domestic misfortunes; by the loss of his beloved queen, by the jealousies, the imprudence, and the misconduct of some of his children, more than by any external cause, and amid the glory which he had acquired, he felt the vanity of all human greatness.

Margaret died at Tynnelsö, in 1551, aged 32. She had borne the King five sons and five daughters. Of the former, two, John and Charles, afterwards ascended the throne; two died in childhood; and one, Magnus, became of weak intellect. The daughters were, Catherine, Cecilia, Anna, Sophia, and Elizabeth. In bidding a last farewell to her husband, the Queen said, "I thank you, my Lord, for the dignity to

[1] Celsius, vol. ii. p. 324.

which you raised me, for the kindness which you have constantly shown me, and for a happy union of fifteen years. The faults of my youth and inexperience my Lord will be pleased to forget." She then took his hand and kissed him; while tears streaming from his eyes testified a heartfelt sorrow, that was never again wholly to pass away.[1]

An eclipse of the sun, which happened at her death, was felt to be too appropriate an emblem of the loss experienced, both by the King and the people, in this most amiable and excellent princess, who was, says Dalin, "pious and cheerful, chaste and beautiful, and beloved for her courtesy and kindness to high and low."[2]

Gustavus, a year after, vainly endeavoured to regain his lost happiness by contracting a third marriage with the beautiful Catherine Stenbock, then in her eighteenth year, the niece of the late Queen, and betrothed to Gustavus Johnson of the Ros family. The engagement presented no greater obstacle than in the case of Margaret, and was got over in the same way, viz. by substituting for the bride the bride's sister. The relationship was a more formidable difficulty. Inquiry having been made of the Bishop of Vesterås, who in turn consulted the Archbishop, whether a marriage between persons so related was lawful—no names were as yet given—a negative answer was returned. Upon this it was

[1] Celsius, vol. ii. p. 299.

[2] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 106; Dalin, vol. iii. ch. vii. p. 429.

thought advisable to ascertain the opinions of the Church dignitaries generally, and at the same time to inform them that the case concerned the King. Sentiments being divided, a synod to discuss the point was held at Vadstena, on the 23rd of July, 1553, when George Norman endeavoured to show that the prohibition against such marriages was only part of the ceremonial law, and that conscience ought not to be fettered in respect to them. He was unable, however, to bring the Archbishop and the Bishops of Skara and Strengness to view the matter in that light, and they endeavoured, in a private audience of two hours' duration, to divert the King from his purpose, but in vain; "the Vasa blood was up," and the marriage, sanctioned by the State Council and the majority of the clergy, took place.[1]

Gustavus had in 1547 read to the States-General, assembled at Strengness, the first draft of his testament, by which, as finally settled, he bestowed upon John the dukedom of Finland, upon Magnus that of East Gothland, and upon Charles that of Södermanland, to be held as fiefs under the Crown. His avowed object was, "as his eldest son had been elected King, to provide for his younger children also a princely maintenance." In anticipation of this final arrangement, John, his favourite son, had at the age of eleven been invested with estates in Finland, and in 1556 with the whole province. Eric was greatly dissatisfied that so much power should be conferred

[1] Dalin, vol. iii. p. 7; Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 106.

upon his brother, while he had as yet but an empty title; and to appease him the King was fain to invest him with Calmar and Kronoberg, with their dependencies, and Öland. Among the conditions attached to the investiture of Calmar, the principal were, that it should be held in strict dependence upon the King; that from the revenues Eric should maintain 500 horse and 2000 foot for the King's service; that he should not enter into any negotiation for peace, declare war, appoint public officers, create nobility, diminish taxes, nor impose any fresh burthens, without the King's consent.[1]

These conditions were not well observed by Eric. The jealousy of his brother, which, according to Messenius, appeared throughout his life, so "that he quarrelled with him first for playthings, then for fiefs, and finally for the whole realm of Sweden," was fostered by his grandmother, who visited him soon after he took possession of Calmar. It seems to have been by her counsel that he exacted an oath of fidelity to himself from the inhabitants and chief officers of the King in that quarter. This step, though taken perhaps but as a precautionary measure against the presumed ambition of John, awakened in Gustavus the greatest displeasure and suspicion. He concealed his feelings indeed from the object of them, but he brought over from Germany, in consequence, a considerable force, and kept the greater part as a life-guard until his death. He sent also spies into

[1] Celsius, vol. ii. p. 332; Geijer, vol. ii. p. 148.

Småland to give him intelligence of what was passing there.[1] It was no good report they had to bring back to the unhappy father. His discarded servants were harboured at Calmar. Brutal sports, in which limbs were lopped off and eyes knocked out, provoked in the prince only a madman's laughter.[2] Gustavus was well nigh resolved to disinherit him. "If this Absalom," he said, "does not blush to do these things before my face, what will he not venture to do when I am dead?"[3]

Among the Frenchmen who at Calmar were the chief companions of Eric, his former tutor, Dennis Burrey, the successor of Norman in that office, had much influence over him. Burrey, who was a zealous Calvinist, counselled the Prince to seek the hand of the Princess Elizabeth of England—advice which, though springing from a different design, tallied with that given him by his grandmother, to connect himself with some powerful house, upon whose support he might reckon in case of dissension arising between himself and his brothers. The King's consent having been obtained with difficulty—for he feared a Calvinistic bride for Eric as much as Burrey desired it[4]—Burrey proceeded, with Lars Knutson, to England, in 1558, to negotiate the marriage; but the affair

[1] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 114.

[2] Peter Brahé, apud Geijer, vol. ii. p. 151.

[3] Dalin, vol. iii. ch. viii. p. 19.

[4] Istam (Calvinianam) rex Gustavus magnopere detestabatur religionem. Ideoque—huic filii voto consensum diu abnuebat.—Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 116.

proceeded slowly—so slowly that the King sarcastically observed "he supposed Burrey must be staying in England because the air agreed with him."[1]

How the embassy actually sped there we learn from Burnet:—

"Soon after [the prorogation] the King of Sweden sent a message secretly to the Lady Elizabeth, who was at Hatfield, to propose marriage to her. King Philip had once designed to marry her to the Duke of Savoy. * * * How far she entertained that motion I do not know; but for this from Sweden she rejected it, since it came not to her by the Queen's direction. But to that it was answered, the King of Sweden would have them begin with herself, judging that fit for her as he was a gentleman, and, her good liking being obtained, he would next, as a King, address himself to the Queen. But she said that, as she was to entertain no such proposition unless the Queen sent them to her, so, if she were left to herself, she assured them, she would not change her state of life. To Sir Thomas Pope, who was sent to Elizabeth by the Queen to say that she approved of her answer, she said, after reiterating her preference for a single life, 'And as concerning my liking of this same motion, I beseech you say unto her Majesty, that to my remembrance I never heard of his (the ambassador's) master before this time, and that I so well like both the messenger and the message, as I shall most

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 152.

humbly pray God upon my knees that from henceforth I never hear of one or the other.'"[1]

This certainly was not very promising, but John, having obtained leave from the King to plead his brother's cause and proceeding to England, was well received by Elizabeth, though she still declared her inclination to remain single, and her stedfast purpose not to marry a foreigner whom she had never seen. Upon this Eric wrote to her, complaining that, "after so many proofs of his sincerity, and the assurances of his own brother, she still doubted his love. He had loved her (he said) while yet in adversity; it was not therefore her rank, but her person, that he regarded. She might easily find a richer and a handsomer consort, but none truer, none who loved her better. She ought not to wonder at his passion for a foreigner. It was awakened by God, and by a trustworthy report of her character. Her personal appearance, too, was not unknown to him. He would, as soon as he obtained leave from his father, come to her, and with his own mouth assure her that for her sake he would give up his country and all that was dearest to him in the world. The project, however, must be kept secret, as he meant to travel incognito. Finally, he thanked her for her kindness to his brother, and trusted that his love, as being inspired by Heaven, would prove fortunate."[2]

[1] Burnet, Hist. of Reformation, vol. ii. p. 725, Oxford ed.

[2] Lit. Er. ad Reg. Eliz.; Wadstena, 30th Dec. 1559; apud Dalin vol. iii. ch. viii.

Gustavus had no such expectation, and would fain have had Eric set his mind less upon a matter of so much uncertainty, and place it in the hands of Almighty God. Moreover, the large outlay incurred in indulging Eric and his brother's fantasy made him very uncomfortable, and not without reason. For, as Tegel observes, "what a sum was expended in this expedition to so magnificent a people, and in such a matter, where expense is not wont to be spared, may easily be imagined; in fact, the cost amounted to 200,000 dollars."[1]

While John was prosecuting his brother's suit with the most magnificent promises,[2] hoping probably that, in the event of success, the throne or the regency of Sweden would be open to himself, the marriage of Count Edward of East Friesland with the Princess Catherine, Gustavus's eldest daughter, took place at Stockholm on the 1st of October, 1559. The dowry of the bride was 100,000 dollars, besides the *trousseau*, which was magnificent.

An event, however, followed close upon the marriage, which turned all the joy of the King and his family on the occasion into mourning.

Count John, the bridegroom's brother, had become enamoured of the young Princess Cecilia, who was

[1] Tegel, 1559.

[2] Bishop Jewell wrote to Peter Martyr from London the 2nd November, 1559:—"Suecus et Carolus Ferdinandi F. mirificissime ambiunt. Sed Suecus impensè: ille enim, modò impetret, montes argenteos pollicetur. Sed illa fortasse thalamos propriores cogitat."—Burnet, Appendix to vol. iii. p. 383.

clever, agreeable, and of uncommon beauty. Cecilia returned his passion; but—despairing probably of obtaining the King's consent to their union—it was in secret only that the young lovers dared to avow their mutual attachment. Both were in the cortège which accompanied the bride and bridegroom to the frontier, and, during a halt at Vadstena, the sentinel on duty saw the Count, by means of a ladder, enter the bedchamber of the young Princess. Eric, who was of the party, being informed of this, set one of his courtiers, De Mornay, on the watch the following night, the 10th of December. At midnight the Count repeated his visit, when De Mornay removed the ladder, and, having forced the door of the apartment, found him there and the Princess also. Eric immediately put him under arrest, and, having sent him off to Orbyhus, in Upland, wrote to inform the King of what had happened, and to ask his advice.[1]

The aged King shed bitter tears over this disgrace, to which the rashness of Eric had given such wide publicity. He said to his confessor in Latin, "My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death," and desired, if it were God's will, to die, for he was weary of life.[2] To Eric's letter he said, "he was called in to give counsel as a reaper to a field already reaped.

[1] Letter of Prince Eric to Prince John, Calmar, 23rd February, 1560. —R. K. K. fol. 58; apud Dalin, vol. iii. ch. viii. p. 29. Tegel (1559) mentions the imprisonment of John, but apologises for passing over in silence the circumstances which led to it.

[2] Dalin, vol. iii. ch. viii.

Eric had made public this melancholy business, to the shame and derision of himself and all his house—of what use was counsel now?"

The young Prince received these reproaches with impatience, and told his father he ought not to write to his heir as to his bailiffs. "Dear son Eric," replied the father, "you send us many a letter, but with what pleasure we can read them God Almighty knows. For the death and passion of God's Son, and for the filial love and obedience good children should bear to their parents, desist from that martyrdom with which you overwhelm and torture us your poor aged father." Excusing himself for his hastiness, he says in another letter, "We count upon you as your father, that you will not on this ground conceive any displeasure. God in his holy word has commanded that no one shall revile or do harm to his anointed, or to his own flesh, though defects and transgressions be at times found in them."[1]

Eric, sensible at length of the mistake which he had committed, sought to repair his sister's damaged honour; but, with the same maladroitness which he had exhibited throughout the unhappy affair, he endeavoured to accomplish his object by having a medal struck, with the chaste Susanna on one side, and Cecilia on the reverse.[2]

All prayers for the culprit were for a long time fruitless; but, after eight months' imprisonment, and

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. pp. 150, 151.
[2] Dalin, vol. iii. ch. viii. p. 30.

after having vindicated, as far as possible, the reputation of Cecilia, he was released from prison. He remained unmarried, and, taught discretion by the past; when that Princess came to Emden on a visit to her sister, he shunned her dangerous presence.[1] She herself married the Margrave Christopher of Baden, in 1564; after her husband's death embraced the Roman Catholic religion; and ended a giddy and dissolute life at the advanced age of eighty-seven.[2]

[1] Celsius, vol. ii. p. 345. [2] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 151.

CHAPTER XV.

Unhappiness of Gustavus's latter days — His decline — His latest correspondence — His last address to the States — Renewal of Eric's suit to Elizabeth of England — The King's illness and death — Peter Brahé's description of him — Review of his character.

IF Gustavus was born in 1496 he was in 1559 only sixty-three years old, but the anxieties of a difficult government, and the heavy weight of domestic sorrow, began to tell upon both body and mind. His strength visibly declined, and he became querulous and melancholy. His cheerful temper seldom shone out with its former brightness after the death of his beloved Margaret, and even as early as 1554 we find him declaring to his sons that he no longer took any pleasure in music, of which he had once been fond, and sending back to them, as better suited to their age and circumstances, some trumpeters and other musicians whom they had procured for his amusement.[1]

The loss of Margaret was followed by that of many of his contemporaries in the State Council, among the rest of Lars Siggéson (Sparré), his fellow-prisoner in Denmark. Christina Gyllenstjerna, to

[1] Gripsholm, December 25th, 1554; Appendix to Chron. Laurent. Petri, in Rerum Suec. Script., vol. ii. p. 153. See Appendix.

whom he was much attached, died in 1559; then came the death of the King of Denmark, from which he anticipated much evil, and in whom he regretted a good friend and neighbour. Finally, the disgrace of Cecilia cut him to the quick. No one of his age had been less superstitious, perhaps (overwhelmed as he had been with business) we might say less thoughtful, on the subject of omens; but now he considered every memorial of life's mutability and vanity as a sign for himself, and said, "That is meant for me; God grant me time to make myself ready." Fears for the Reformation and for the future peace and union of his family made the prospect of death still more gloomy. His memory, once so tenacious, began to fail him: he confused names. Something of his former decision was wanting: contrary to his wont he occasionally changed his orders. His natural defects appeared more prominently. He became habitually more irritable, and more exacting with his bailiffs and employés.[1]

On the 24th of April, 1560, he was taken ill at Juleta, but recovered sufficiently to proceed in the following month to Eskiltuna, where he had the satisfaction of again embracing his favourite son John, just returned from his embassy to England.[2]

He came to Stockholm on the 16th of June to attend the Diet, which had been convoked there "on

[1] Collection Hist. Polit. MS. in Bibliothecâ Com. Piper; apud Dalin, vol. iii. ch. viii.

[2] Tegel, 1560.

account of the King's age and weakness, and the many weighty affairs not yet brought to an end." He had written to Eric on the 3rd of June entreating him to be present, assuring him that he was not dissatisfied with him personally, though he was dissatisfied with his advisers. On the day following he wrote to John complaining of those *toads* who took advantage of Eric's naturally suspicious temper to persuade him to set spies upon his father, and to lead him into other inconceivable extravagancies.[1]

These are the last letters preserved, probably the last written, by that sagacious pen which had been employed for nearly forty years with such indefatigable diligence and with such fruitful, and, generally speaking, with such beneficial results. On the 25th of June Gustavus, in the presence of his four sons, of whom the youngest, still a child, stood at his knee, after his testament had been read, approved, and confirmed by oath, addressed the States in their hall of assembly:—"I thank Almighty God," he said, "for that in my person he hath restored to the Swedish throne the ancient race of Magnus Ladulås and Charles Knutson. Those of you who are somewhat advanced in years can still remember the time when our beloved country groaned beneath the sway of foreign oppressors, and especially of the cruel tyrant Christian, and how it pleased God by my hand to free it from such tyranny. Therefore ought we all, high and low, master and servant, young and old,

[1] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 157.

ever gratefully to remember that providential deliverance. For what was I, that I should dethrone so mighty a lord, the king of three kingdoms, allied and related to the Emperor and the most powerful princes of the earth? Little could I have expected that honour when in the forest and the wilderness I hid myself from the bloodthirsty sword of the enemy. But God prospered the work, and made me his minister in whom to reveal his almighty power, so that I may well compare myself to David, whom the Lord raised up from a poor shepherd to be king over the people.

"I thank you for having chosen me your hereditary sovereign, and for having loyally supported me in my government. That during my reign it has pleased God to introduce here his pure and holy word, and to bless us at the same time so highly with all temporal blessings, let us all, as is our bounden duty, humbly and thankfully praise him. I am well aware that in the opinion of many I have been a harsh king, but the time will come when the Swedes would gladly pluck me from the grave if it were in their power. I scruple not, however, to acknowledge many sins and frailties—for none is perfect and without spot—and I pray you as loyal subjects to pardon the faults and imperfections which you have found in my government. My design at least has invariably been the good of my kingdom, and my grey hairs and wrinkled forchead sufficiently prove the many dangers, troubles, and sorrows I have experienced in

my forty years' reign. I take nothing with me of all that I have gathered together; employ it, my children, to God's honour and to your country's good. Rejoice, dear friends, over that spiritual light which in my time has arisen, and thank God for having delivered you from the thraldom of Papistry. I know that many sects and impostors will rise up among you, and I know at the same time that the Swedes are readier to adopt new opinions than to search diligently for what is good and profitable. This has often grieved me, but I pray you to hold fast by God's word and reject everything that is not in conformity with it. My days will soon be ended. I need not the stars to tell me that my hour is at hand. I bear in my body the surest tokens that I see you now for the last time, and that ere long I must enter into the presence of the King of kings to give account of that princely but corruptible crown which has been given me to wear. Let your prayers follow me: remember me when you assemble in your churches; and when at last I close my eyes, may my ashes rest in peace!"[1]

The King then, after having committed the government to his eldest son, stretched out his hands and blessed his people. Himself and his auditors were alike moved to tears, and, as he was led out of the hall by John and Eric, he stopped from time to time

[1] Celsius, after an account by Rasmus Ludwigson, who had been Secretary in Gustavus's Chancery, and who died in 1594, and an anonymous MS. account of Gustavus's last years.—Vol. ii. p. 355.

to look back upon the assembly and renew his affectionate and reluctant farewell.[1]

Eric the next day addressed the States in the High Church upon the necessity of prosecuting the English marriage in person. He was one of those suitors who will not listen to, or understand, a refusal. Elizabeth had refused him in French and in English, and still he turned a deaf ear. She wrote a Latin letter to Gustavus, entreating that he would think no more of her for his son, but look out for some other alliance. Eric ventured to suggest that his father, not being well versed in Latin, must have mistaken its import. John, who shared or pretended to share his delusion, now supported him before the State-council, and was rewarded with the Regency of the kingdom during his brother's absence. Gustavus gave his consent, but not willingly. The excitement was probably too much for him. However that may be, on the 14th of August, the day of Eric's departure, he was seized with a burning heat and shivering, accompanied by diarrhœa. He was attended by his barber-surgeon and apothecary, and his confessor, Master Johannes (minister of the High Church of Stockholm), who also acted as his physician. The prescriptions were not successful, nor very patiently taken. Potions of violet-syrup, pomegranate, endive-water, chicory, &c., after a short experience of their inefficacy to stop the diarrhœa, were eschewed; and the King was heard to say that he had busied himself

[1] Celsius, ut supra.

too much with the things of this world, but all his kingdom could not now purchase him a physician. Two foreign doctors of medicine sent him by Eric arrived too late to be of service.[1] His mood during his illness was very variable; he was at one time so harsh that his children dared not approach him; at another low and weak even to tears; at another gay and sportive.

At the beginning of his illness he told his confessor, who began some religious exhortation without much considering whether the patient was able to bear it, to cut it short and bring him instead some remedy for a burning head and a sick stomach. When the same clergyman urged him to confess his sins, he answered, "Shall I confess my sins to thee?"[2] When one of his attendants asked him if he wanted anything, he replied, "The kingdom of heaven, which thou canst not give me." To his sons he said, "Men are but men! when the play is out, we are all alike."

He bade those who surrounded him to make known to all that he forgave his enemies and prayed forgiveness of all whom he had offended. From a comparison of dates it would appear that the re-

[1] Celsius, vol. ii. p. 358.

[2] Before his last illness he had shown considerable deference to the advice of his confessor, and, being convinced by him that he had acted harshly and injuriously to his bailiffs, he not only forgave them an arrear of 15,000 marks, but ordered them to be dealt with more indulgently for the future.—Dalin, vol. iii. p. 8; Celsius, vol. ii. p. 357.

lease of Count John was among the fruits of the relentings of his last illness.[1]

The Queen, Sten Erickson (Lejonhufvud), his confessor, and Peter Swart, the court chaplain, never quitted his side. During the first three weeks he talked, and sometimes with his former vigour, upon temporal and spiritual affairs; the last three weeks were passed almost in silence, and without apparent suffering. When upon receiving the sacrament he made a confession of his faith, and his son John adjured him to remain stedfast therein, he made a sign for pen and paper and wrote—"Once confessed, and constant in the same, or a thousand times spoken—" but had not strength to finish the sentence.[2] His confessor was addressing him in his last moments, when Sten Erickson interrupted him by saying, "You are speaking in vain, for the King can hear no longer." The clergyman, however, leant over him and said, "If you believe in the Lord Jesus Christ, and hear my voice, give us some sign," when, to the astonishment of all present, the King exclaimed, with a loud voice, "Yes!" It was a last effort, and with it the King expired, at eight o'clock of the morning of the 29th of September, 1560.[3]

[1] Supposing he was released, as Dalin says, on the 15th August: but Celsius gives the date of his release as the 10th October.—Vol. ii. p. 344.

[2] Celsius, vol. ii. p. 359.

[3] Celsius, vol. ii. p. 359. This account of the last illness and death of Gustavus is taken chiefly from Geijer, who professes to have followed in many particulars a MS. account of the King's confessor.

His body, together with those of his wives Catherine and Margaret, was conveyed from Stockholm to Upsala on St. Thomas's day, with all accustomed pomp and solemnity, and buried in the cathedral there, beneath an alabaster cenotaph elaborately carved, in the choir of the Virgin.[1]

Gustavus, as described by his nephew Peter Brahé, was of middle height,[2] so well proportioned that whatever he wore became him, with fair hair, piercing eyes, short straight nose, handsome mouth and hands, and a florid complexion. He had so good a memory, that places and names once observed carefully, and things once or twice related to him, were never forgotten; and though he had comparatively little book-learning or scientific knowledge, as having been taken early from such pursuits, yet his natural quickness to some extent supplied the deficiency, and he had a sounder judgment, and was better informed on several practical subjects, than a good many who a long time had made them their study. He had a taste for sculpture and painting, and was not only a good judge of music, but himself sang and played upon the lute, which he deemed the most agreeable of all instruments. His court was royally maintained, brilliant with native noblemen, illustrious foreigners, and fair and highborn ladies. Every day after dinner at an appointed hour they met in the ball-room, and danced

[1] Scond. Illust., tom. v. p. 120.

[2] So says his nephew, but he adds, "something more than three ells." His height therefore rather exceeded 5 feet 10½ inches English.

to the music of the King's band. Twice or thrice in the week the lords and ladies of the court accompanied the King to the chase, or to walk, or in some other out-door recreation, and once every week the fencing-school was thrown open, and the young nobles encouraged to engage in that and other knightly exercises. A gold ring, or a string of pearls, and the honour of leading off the dance with a lady of the court rewarded the victor.

Gustavus took pleasure in the society of accomplished and beautiful women, but neither before nor after his marriage was he ever accused of having any relations with them but such as are pure and honourable. In serving God both morning and afternoon he took great delight. "In a word, God had endowed him beyond all others with a great capacity, a powerful understanding, and many princely virtues, so that he well deserved to possess the kingly sceptre and crown; for he was not only able and intelligent beyond others, but just and penetrating in his judgments, and in many respects tender of heart."[1]

Instead of repeating the praises which have been accumulated upon Gustavus by later writers, sometimes without discrimination, and sometimes with an almost total ignorance of his character, it will, I think, be more useful now briefly to review that character as I have endeavoured to depict it in detail —in its weakness as well as in its strength—and to

[1] Peter Brahé, apud Geijer, vol. ii. p. 163. To his natural good disposition mainly, perhaps, it is to be attributed that no blood was shed in Sweden to establish the Reformed faith.

draw attention to the sources from which some of his characteristic faults seem to have arisen.

The influence of Hemming Gadd, a wily politician of the Italian school, whose commanding abilities, friendship with the Sturés, and hatred of the Danes, gave him an immense authority over the ardent mind of his young pupil, may be mentioned as the chief of those sources. With a political tutor of such a stamp it is not surprising that Gustavus should have been deficient in the straightforwardness and integrity which are the greatest ornaments of a great statesman, nor that the reproach which he cast upon Olaus Petri, of having a papistical conscience,[1] should have attached with far greater reason to himself; for he notoriously, nay avowedly, combated falsehood by falsehood, and acted habitually upon the principle that the end sanctified the means. In pursuance of this principle, when the interests of his country seemed to require it, truth and justice were unsparingly sacrificed. Moreover, by a not unnatural delusion, Gustavus was wont to identify those interests with his own. From providential circumstances the destinies of the Swedish nation, the chief part in a great revolution, political and religious, had been thrown into his hands. Through him mainly Sweden had been freed from a foreign yoke, rescued from the trammels of an established superstition, and rendered prosperous by the increase of her foreign trade,

[1] See Appendix. "Correspondence concerning the Chronicle of Olaus Petri."

and the development of her internal resources. It was Gustavus who held the public purse, received and paid for all, in case of need melted down his plate for the public service, and in flourishing times filled his coffers with the superfluous revenue. It is easy, therefore, to understand how in his imagination the ideas of his country's welfare and of his own advantage would become inseparably blended, and how the maxim "L'état c'est moi" would be suffered to throw a veil of patriotism over an acquisitiveness not always kept within due bounds.

It was a corollary from that maxim that individual claims should give way to those of the monarch, and we find accordingly, that they were sacrificed, not only in respect to property, but in respect to rights of which men are still more jealous, and, *perhaps*, even in the sacred interests of the heart.

Gustavus was not probably by nature more suspicious than others; but the stratagems which Hemming Gadd taught him to consider legitimate weapons of political warfare must have tended to make him so, and his own experience confirmed the habit. While still a youth he had been the victim of Christian's treachery. His companion in arms had betrayed him. The Lubeckers had overreached him. As he advanced in years, some of the friends whom he had most honoured and trusted had quitted his side. Accordingly, in the decline of life he was on the look-out for treachery, detected sedition in the sermons which denounced oppressors and exhorted

to mercy and pity, and personalities in the histories which represented the Swedes as bad paymasters, and said of past generations that "they who had given much to churches and convents had not become poor, neither had they grown rich who had robbed them."[1] At last he was disturbed by constant fears of being cheated by his bailiffs, and overcharged by his tradesmen and labourers, and employed a system of espionage, not only over the disaffected districts, but over his confidential officers, and even over his own son, which far overpassed the bounds of a legitimate and paternal vigilance.

It would be an ungrateful task to dwell upon the defects of illustrious men, if it were not instructive to observe their consequences. In the case of Gustavus the worst consequence, as far as the world is generally concerned, was the discredit which some of those defects brought upon the Reformation. As to himself and his people the consequences were many, and more or less disastrous. We are satisfied that the servants, who were equally suspected, whether honest or dishonest, had one motive the less for retaining their integrity; we know that Eric retaliated upon his father the espionage which the latter practised against him; that the King's disregard of moderation and justice multiplied his enemies among all ranks, and

[1] Gustavus, in his strictures upon the Chronicle of Olaus Petri (Appendix to Chron. Laur. Pet., p. 158), observes that, even if the Swedes did not pay well, he ought not to have mentioned it, since, as the saying is, "it is an ill bird that fouls its own nest." See Appendix.

was the cause of more than one insurrection; and that the Dacké war was protracted, to the imminent peril of his crown, because the Smålanders could place no confidence in his promises.

To the same sources, possibly—if not to an overworked brain—may be ascribed the feeling of isolation and desertion of which he complained in his latter days; and the want, in his last hours, of a comfortable sense of pardon and acceptance, which, though it is the privilege of every true penitent, is seldom perhaps realized in all its fulness, except by those who, before the shadows of their life have lengthened, have striven to live in all good conscience both towards God and man.

Passing from moral faults to infirmities and errors of judgment—of all the political errors of Gustavus, the greatest seems to have been the virtual dismemberment of the kingdom, through the extensive duchies conferred upon his younger sons. Distrust of Eric, and a preference for Margaret's children, both probably urged him to make this arrangement, which, the King moreover thought, would keep in check the richer nobles at the same time that it restrained the eccentric ambition of his eldest son. The alternative of passing him over, and conferring the kingdom upon John, a project once seriously entertained, was rejected, perhaps, as being fatal to that hereditary settlement which he thought at once most advantageous to the country, and the greatest security for continuing the monarchy in his own line. But, as

his grandson, Gustavus Adolphus, observed, "The younger brothers were too powerful for subjects,[1] and a more prudent prince than Eric might have complained (as he did) that "his father had prepared for him difficult days when he bestowed upon them the duchies."

Some other measures of Gustavus, *e.g.* the prohibition of the exportation of cattle, and the fixing a maximum price upon those sold in the country, may probably be excused on the ground of his ignorance of the true principles of political economy. If indeed he believed, as he said, that "the graziers were losing money" by the *maximum*, it was a palpable piece of injustice to maintain it, and benefit the consumer, by interfering with the natural laws of buying and selling, to the loss, and perhaps ruin, of the producer. But Gustavus in all probability did not believe what he said. He found it convenient at the moment to represent the matter so to the Dalesmen; but he thought, most probably, that his measure was only reducing the grazier's profit within a reasonable compass. His error, however, whether partly moral, or simply political, was one of the chief causes of the Dacké war.

Turning to the other side of the picture, we perceive in the prosperity of the industrial interests of the kingdom, in the foundation laid for its progressive improvement in art, science, and learning, and, above all, in the care to promote that knowledge which is the greatest glory and the greatest safeguard of a

[1] Appendix to the Rimchronica of Charles the Ninth.

people, the energy, diligence, and wisdom, generally speaking, of this great King.[1] As a Reformer of the Faith he was, as might have been expected, severely dealt with by the Romanists, and represented, not only "as a spoiler of churches and a heretic," but, what was assuredly a most undeserved calumny, "as an infidel or a heathen." One of our popular Church historians has, with a far more pardonable extravagance, run into the opposite extreme; but if Gustavus scarcely deserves the robe of sanctity with which Milner has invested him,[2] he was far from being a religious reformer from policy alone. He was deeply convinced that the reformed doctrines were the reflection of God's own truth; and not the less so, because, like other inconsistent men, he did not in all things follow their guidance. It was, however, under the impulse of strong conviction, and with an unfaltering purpose, that his reforms in Church, no less than those in State, were prosecuted. Three or four great objects were continually before him—to enlighten his people by God's pure word, to preserve them from foreign domination and internal discord, and to implant among them the arts and the blessings of peace. These things he deemed necessary for their happiness, and

[1] In 1525 he sent one of the monks of Vadstena, Benedictus Petri, on a mission to convert the Laplanders.—Diar. Vads., p. 219. He appointed Michael Agricola, a native of Finland, to the bishopric of that see, and by his means obtained for the people of that province the Bible, Prayerbook, and books of elementary instruction in their native tongue.—Geijer, vol. ii. p. 145.

[2] Milner, Church Hist., vol. v. ch. ix. p. 139.

these he never lost sight of. It may be added, that, though possessed of a power far greater than that of many a nominal autocrat, he despised no class of his subjects, but endeavoured to reconcile all to his policy, in the first instance at least, by good reasons and fair words; and that he gladly saw numbered among the nobility those, who though sprung from the people, vindicated their claim to a noble rank by their talents, their diligence, and their virtue. In a word, if he had some great faults, he had many splendid virtues. His aims, as a ruler, though not unmingled with personal ambition, were in the main pious and patriotic, and in that capacity, and in his private life, he exhibited a character firm without obstinacy, merciful without weakness, courageous without display, chaste amid the blandishments, and undazzled upon the eminence of a lofty station, and loving peace while the days of chivalry still lingered. His people acknowledged at last the deep debt which they owed to his incessant vigilance and labour, and some of the most enlightened Swedes, of every age since his own, have acknowledged that it is not with the commonplace flattery of an epitaph, but by a title well deserved, that he is described upon his tomb as the "Father of His Country."[1]

[1] "Hic Rex Gustavus natus est anno 1490 in principem et gubernatorem Sueciæ, Gothiæque assumptus 1520. Postea in Regem electus 1523. Coronatus autem 1528. Obiit 1560, ætatis suæ 70. Regiminis sui 40." And on the same tablet, "Gustavus, Suecorum, Gothorum, et Vandalorum Rex, Pater Patriæ, belli artibus, pacisque clarus, victoriis celebris terribilis hosti, suisque charus."—Messenii Tumbæ.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

GUSTAVUS'S CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE CHRONICLE OF OLAUS PETRI, A SECRET HISTORY OF HIS OWN LIFE, &c.[1]

Gustavus to Olaus Petri.

Calmar, August 5th, 1541.

We need not remind you, Master Olof, that you some time ago began writing certain histories and chronicles, which you had partly extracted and compiled from the chronicle of Dr. Erick, canon of Upsala, with respect to whom it is observable that he is much more gracious to the old bishops and the privileges of the clergy than to the kings and nobles of the realm. Now you are well aware that the factious and seditious practices and cabals of the said bishops did to the princes and rulers of the kingdom notorious injury and damage; and though no doubt many useful things may be found in that chronicle, yet they are combined with many others tending rather to rebellions and disobedience to kings and rulers than to peace and unity. Since, then, you were ready enough to compile and publish such histories and chronicles, it seems to us that it would not be amiss if you

[1] From the Appendix to Laurentius Petri's Svenska Chrönica; Scrip. Rer. Suec., vol. ii. sec. 2, p. 151.

were to think of writing histories of such a stamp that peace and unity might result from them. It is therefore our serious command and injunction that you immediately undertake to write upon the times which reach up to and concern us: wherein you will find far more advantage and profit than in those histories which you have hitherto written and published; and though you, no doubt, need not be told how all things have sped from the very beginning of our government until now, we nevertheless in this letter give you to understand the heads of the said transactions, entreating and commanding you that you will hereafter expand them into a narrative, omitting nothing. First—How King Christian acted towards us,[1] our fathers' kingdom, and its inhabitants generally. Also how and through what great fights and dangers we arrived at our throne. Also what injuries, dangerous plots, and conspiracies were got up against us on various occasions both by natives and foreigners. Also how the Papists of the kingdom behaved themselves towards us. Also how the Lubeck war was waged against us and our kingdom. Also Bärent von Mällen's rebellious proceedings. Also how our subjects the Dalecarlians, the Helsingers, the Smålanders, and many others shamefully and without any ground rose up against us. In a word, all that has occurred in our times and is fit to be included in history, we enjoin you to write in careful history-fashion, sending it when finished to us by the first opportunity; and as we are minded to let our painter make pictures from the said history, therefore the sooner we see it finished the better pleased we shall be.

From our Castle of Calmar.—Dated as above.

[1] His mother and two of his sisters died at Copenhagen in the dungeon called the Blue Tower, to which they had been consigned by Christian. His other wrongs from the tyrant need not be again recorded.

Gustavus to his sons Eric and John.

(Extract.) Gripsholm, December 23rd, 1554.

"We cannot conceal from you that Bishop Botvid of Strängness has fallen under our displeasure on account of the Chronicle of the late M. Olof, which he has had secretly transcribed contrary to our wish, of which he had received sufficient intimation; for seeing that the said Chronicle frequently misrepresents the Christian princes and rulers who in former times bore themselves manfully and honourably in this kingdom, and who on the other hand gave little or no just ground of complaint, we have before expressed an unfavourable opinion of the said Chronicle, and said that we could by no means approve of it until it should have been put forth in a better and more authentic shape.

* * * *

We have also understood that a secret memoir of our reign is somewhere in existence; and, seeing that they will not let it come to light during our lifetime, there is reason to believe that we are not represented there under the most favourable colours, though God knows we might have expected from them, after all our toil and trouble, very different treatment. We are informed too that Peder Erici, chaplain of Stockholm, knows a good deal of the late M. Olof's secret practices, and possibly something of that history which they are so reluctant should see the light. It was he too who sent to Bishop Botvid the copy of the aforementioned Chronicle, which the latter had transcribed. It is our gracious will, therefore, that you send the said Peter Erici to us with all the documents formerly belonging to M. Olof, which he has secretly acquired and preserved. It were desirable also to ascertain whether he or any other have in their possession anything relative to the seditions

which the bishops of the olden time stirred up against their lawful rulers; for such practices should in all reason appear in the said Chronicle, since they were generally the cause of the calamities and ruin which fell upon the kingdom, and yet M. Olof does not even touch upon them in his Chronicle.

Dated as above.

To the same.

Gripsholm, December 25th, 1554.

We send you back the trumpeters and other musicians which you sent us; for at our advanced age, and with somewhat that obliges us to be thoughtful, we can have little pleasure in any musical instrument, or indeed in music of any kind, and so had rather that you, to whom it is far more suitable than to us, should employ the same to your own delight and gratification.

Further, dear sons, as we gave you to understand in our former letter concerning the late M. Olof's Chronicle, a part of our clergy has taken vast pains that the said Chronicle, contrary to our wish and injunction, should be circulated amongst the commons, and still more amongst some of the nobles, and others of our subjects who perhaps, on account of certain estates, owe us no great good will. And seeing that the said M. Olof was formerly Chancellor to Mathias Bishop of Strengness, and that the Bishops as well as the other ecclesiastics of that time were much engaged in the government, or had a hand in the production of State registers and State papers, we have no doubt that the said M. Olof preserved such documents, and in the course of time compiled from them his Chronicle. It were therefore very desirable to ascertain who is in the possession of the said documents, and we enjoin you accordingly to give your heart to the

matter, and use all your zeal to find out who has concealed them. We cannot but think that they will be found either with M. Peder Erici, concerning whom we wrote to you before, or with Bishop Botvid of Strengness, or with the Bishop of Upsala; for we are given to understand that these were the chief counsellors of the deceased M. Olof, and knew most of his secret practices. It is indeed a heinous sin that he in his Chronicle should throw the chief blame, that Sweden so often formerly came to distress and ruin, upon the Christian rulers who did their best to maintain its prosperity, but with all their zeal and labour could do no more than they did owing to the traitorous proceedings of the Bishops. Had M. Olof been willing to write the said Chronicle as a true historian ought to write, then assuredly he would not have passed over in silence the traitorous proceedings which the Bishops in former times engaged in, &c. &c.

We cannot but observe, moreover, when we carefully read over the said Chronicle, that he had rather a papistical spirit and conscience than a true evangelical spirit; and whereas we have for five-and-thirty years, as everybody knows, conducted our government with the greatest vigilance and labour, and have by God's help behaved ourself therein no otherwise than in a manner Christianlike and satisfactory in the sight of every honourable man; still we understand that he or some of his party have written an account of our reign that is almost worthless: for since they will not let it see light while we live, it is to be feared that all things are not represented there to our advantage, though God knows we have by our great care and labour deserved from them and from all others in the kingdom very different treatment; and it is indeed grievous that, after all the anxiety and toil we have undergone for the benefit of the people, we should have no other recompense to expect

after our death than such unjust detraction; and we are not a little surprised that the clergy will be so bold as to wish to rule and reform lords and princes when they know that it is written, "Reges gentium dominabuntur; vos autem non sic." It is fitting, therefore, to have an eye to their proceedings, and permit no more to be written of Christian rulers and princes than is honourable and can be proved. It is therefore our express wish and prayer that you will search and inquire as far as possible whether any of the aforementioned old papers and documents, or that concealed Chronicle which has been written of us and our reign, can be found with Peder Erici or elsewhere in Stockholm, and send it afterwards to us.

Finally, it is our wish that you send no troops to Finland until we are further informed of the state of that province; for, seeing that Skäregarden is everywhere frozen, it is scarcely possible, without great danger and cost, to send our troops across, and we hope, through God's mercy, that the danger there is not so great as reported, seeing that our commandants in that quarter send us no further tidings respecting it; we should nevertheless be glad that you used all your diligence to ascertain the truth. We have also written to our commandants in the aforesaid province on the subjects mentioned in your letters.

Dated as above.

POSTSCRIPT.

We have resolved to go down to Westgothland this winter, and in order to travel by sledge the journey must not be long delayed. Now it seems to us that it would not be advantageous or advisable that we should all go down together, and leave this part of the kingdom deserted, but rather that some one should remain here and watch over our subjects, so that no disturbance may arise while we are

away. We wish you to let us have your opinion upon this as soon as possible. We think it also desirable that he who remains in this province should proceed from time to time to Upsala, Vesterås, to this place, and other districts, but so as never to be long together or far distant from Stockholm, and to be always watchful for our interest and that of the realm.

To Laurentius Petri.

Gripsholm, December 24th, 1554.

You no doubt remember, dear Bishop Lars, the differences which for many years existed between ourself and your late brother, chiefly because he would interfere and fain reform much in the government, a matter which his office did not require of him, and which he wanted reach of understanding to perform satisfactorily. He behaved himself, and that often, in such a manner with respect to us that we should have been fully justified in permitting him to undergo the punishment which he had incurred. But that the doctrines of the Reformation might not thereby suffer, we have often blinked at his offences, and committed the matter to the hands of God, who in all things judges right.

But besides this, he has written, contrary to our injunction, a Chronicle, that is of little value, in that he in many places misrepresents the Christian rulers, princes, &c. For instance, he writes that Sten Sturé the elder was chosen Regent by the commons for the sake of a last of ale, which is a great insult not only to him but to all the people of Sweden, &c. &c.

Again, he imputes to the Swedish people the disgrace of having very often provoked the Danes to bring war into our land, but the traitors who held with the Danes, and who

were the true authors of our calamities, he lauds and praises almost throughout his Chronicle.

We must also observe that the said M. Olof had rather a papistical conscience than a true evangelical spirit, in that he does not condemn the practices of the traitor bishops, but rather excuses them in their traitorous deeds.

There is much also in the said Chronicle, if one had only time to read it over carefully, which is contrary to the very treatises which he himself wrote and approved of when he first began to preach and reform the teaching of the Gospel in this country. From whence it is evident that the said Chronicle does not tend to any improvement or edification of the people (as ought to be the case), but rather to set them against their lawful rulers, which too often happens. We have accordingly expressed our judgment of the said Chronicle plainly enough, that we could not sanction or approve it, but would have it altogether laid aside and not come into use until it shall have been corrected and put forth in a better tone and with more foundation of truth. We have, nevertheless, understood that our said mandate has been little heeded, but, on the contrary, that the said Chronicle has been more and more circulated amongst the nobles, and those who have some understanding, from which in time more harm than good will come. We therefore [illegible]estly enjoin you to exert yourself that the aforesaid Chronicle, wherever it may be found, be finally laid aside and disused until it be corrected; in forwarding which you will do us a pleasure. We also wish you to send us all the copies you can lay your hands on, for you are well aware that no books can legally be published except *cum Regis gratiâ et privilegio*.

[Here the King complains of the secret Chronicle written of his own reign—of the proneness of the clergy to attempt

the reformation of rulers—much in the same strain as in his letter to his sons. He concludes by urging the Archbishop to send him that Chronicle and the State papers, which (he supposes) must have been in the possession of Olaus Petri, and left by him either to the Archbishop himself, or to Bishop Botvid, or to Peder Erici.]

No. II.

EXTRACTS FROM GUSTAVUS'S STRICTURES ON THE CHRONICLE OF OLAUS PETRI.

1. The King complains that Olaus Petri compares those Swedes of the olden time who were in the command of castles and fortresses to giants, dwarfs of the mountain, and other misdoers, and at the same time the traitors to their country to warriors and men of honour.

2. That he attributes the dissensions between the Danes and Swedes partly to the pride of the latter.

3. That he affirms the condition of Sweden to have been as prosperous under foreign as under native princes.

4. That he declares all that the old historians wrote about the justice of the Goths and Swedes was false.

5. That he pays his countrymen the compliment of saying that they were bad paymasters, which, even if it were true, he ought not to have mentioned, seeing that, as the saying is, "it is an ill bird that fouls its own nest."

6. That he praises those who founded and built churches and convents, and endowed them with their own possessions, and at the same time condemns them who put an end to such an unprofitable kind of religion, saying that they who have given much to churches and convents have not become

poor, neither have they grown rich who have robbed them; at the same time that the said M. Olof was the first to urge that proceeding (which he now condemns), but now in his writings he would fain retreat and turn his coat, which no honourable man is wont to do; all which is a manifest slur upon the known truth of the Gospel:

7. That he says, when the people pay the King tax and toll, they have a right in return to law and justice, as if law and justice were perverted or withheld from any in the kingdom. "For we appeal," says Gustavus, "to every honourable, just, and Christian man, that none has cause for complaint on that ground."

8. That he bespatters all Christian rulers, and calls them Ladubrott (barn-breaks) and not Ladulås (barn-locks), and says, moreover, that Magnus Ladulås deserved to be called a Roman Cæsar;—for what we cannot conceive, except by reason of that falsehood and detraction whereby he was minded to pull down the good name of all honourable Christian potentates and rulers.[1]

[1] The passages alluded to in this charge and in No. 7 are these:—"For it is the duty of the ruler to protect his subjects from injustice and violence, and on that very account he takes of his subjects toll and custom. For that tax which the peasant pays the King he ought to be protected by law and justice; and with the same right that the King demands tax of the peasant, may the peasant claim law and justice of the King. This Magnus Ladulås well understood, * * * and that Ladulås is a noble name, conferring upon King Magnus more honour and praise than if he had been called a Roman Cæsar. In truth, there are not many in the world who can be called Ladulås; Ladubrott have always been more general."—Olai Petri Chron., p. 254. "Quid de hisce correctionibus et castigationibus dicendum sit norunt historiæ periti. Quorsum vero amor patriæ viros magnos, immo viros doctos subinde abripiat, ex scriptis hisce eristicis, in loco illustri positis, alii quoque discant."—Edit. Rer. Suec. Script., vol. ii. sec. 2, p. 160.

No. III.

ON THE VALUE OF MONEY AND COMMODITIES DURING THE REIGN OF GUSTAVUS VASA.

THERE is a treatise on this subject by Hallenberg, to which Geijer frequently refers, but I have not been able to procure it.

It appears however from the latter that the Swedish mark, which equalled 8 öré currency, equalled in 1523 also 20 skillings in silver, and, reckoning the silver rix-dollar at 4*s.* 6*d.* (as there are 48 skillings to the dollar), the mark was then worth 1*s.* 10½*d.* of our money. For some time after 1527 the coinage was debased, and the mark was only worth 16 skillings in silver; but in 1555 it had again risen in value to 20 skillings.[1]

The Lubeck mark was, according to the Lubeckers' computation, equal to two Swedish marks; but Gustavus found, by an analysis made in 1538, that it was not really so.[2] However, the difference was probably small.

The debt to Lubeck therefore of 77,290 Lubeck marks may be estimated at 150,000 Swedish, or at about 14,000*l.* The total expenses of the war of liberation, exclusive of the cost of reducing Finland, were 960,000 Swedish marks, = 400,000 dollars, = 90,000*l.*[3]

In 1524 the klippingar were called in. The real value of the klipping was 9 rundstycken, but it passed for 18 penningar, = 41 rundstycken, that is, for more than four times as much as it was worth.

[1] Geijer, chiefly from Hallenberg, vol. ii. pp. 51, 53, 139.
[2] Tegel, 1538.
[3] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 51.

But the King, though compelled to call in the klippingar, did not like what he called too *fat* a coinage. To the commandant of Åbo, who had sent him the proof of a new coinage, which he thought of too high a standard, he wrote—"They have put into the pot more than was needed of that which is most costly. Thou knowest well thyself that one can come more readily at cabbage than at bacon, and that, if one puts too much bacon in with the cabbage, this becomes unwholesome, and disagrees with those who eat it." [1]

The rates at which the peasants were permitted to compound for the coronation tax in kind, imposed in 1526, is a tolerable criterion of the money value of the commodities enumerated at that time.[2] They would, however, probably be rather below than above the market price.

The commutation price, then, for—

A Tunna of Barley	=	$4\frac{3}{16}$	Winchr. bushels,	was	$1\frac{1}{2}$ Marks	= 2*s.* $9\frac{3}{4}$*d.*
,, Rye	=	,,	,,		2 ,,	= 3*s.* 9*d.*
,, Pease	=	,,	,,		1 ,,	= 1*s.* $10\frac{1}{2}$*d.*
		An Ox			8 ,,	= 15*s.*
		1 hundred Iron			1 ,,	= 1*s.* $10\frac{1}{2}$*d.*

It appears therefore that the price of barley was about 4*s.* 8*d.* a quarter: that of rye about 6*s.* 3*d.*

Comparing these prices with those of April, 1549, when [illegible] was selling *well* in the mining districts, we find that barley had risen to 7 öré the spann, *i. e.* to $1\frac{3}{4}$ marks the tunna, and rye to $2\frac{1}{4}$ marks; *i. e.* barley was about 5*s.* 5*d.* the quarter; rye about 7*s.* Barley-meal was then selling at 8 öré, and rye-meal at 10 öré the spann.[3]

[1] Geijer, after Hallenberg, vol. ii. pp. 53, 137.
[2] Tegel, 1526.
[3] Letter to Anders Ersson, p. 266, supra.

The average price of *wheat* in England for the last eight years of Gustavus's reign, viz. from 1553 to 1560 both included, was about 8*s*. 2*d*. of our present money.[1]

From the above table I have little doubt that the maximum price fixed for a pair of oxen was *not* 16 *Danish* but 16 Swedish marks; for if Bruzelius be right in estimating 16 Danish marks at 8 r.-dollars banco, the maximum price was less than *half* the commutation or fair price of the time when the law was in operation, and this is quite incredible. Some other commodities *appear* by the table to have been enormously high in comparison with corn. For I have noted the commutation price of—

1 lb. of Bacon,	10 Skillings,	=	11½*d*.
1 ,, Cheese,	12 ,,	=	1*s*. 1½*d*.
1 ,, Butter,	20 ,,	=	1*s*. 10½*d*.

—but Tegel probably intended by the lb., not the skälpund = 14⅓ oz. avoirdupois, but the lispund = 20 skälpund. A pound of butter, on this supposition, sold for about the seventh part of the average price of a bushel of barley.[2] The retaining fee for the soldier enlisted, but not yet called out, was 12 marks or 22*s*. 6*d*. per annum.[3] The pay of a foot-soldier on actual service (supporting himself) was 4 marks a month = 4*l*. 10*s*. a year; of a horse-soldier 8 marks a month, or 9*l*. a year. A captain of infantry had 6 marks a month, and a lieutenant 5. The foreign troops were better paid.[4]

The price of a staffrum, about a cubic yard, of firewood,

[1] Wealth of Nations, Appendix to vol. i. p. 356. Edin. 1817.

[2] *i.e.* for rather more than a penny. The price of butter in the Cumberland dales, about a century ago, was three halfpence or twopence a pound. Hartley Coleridge's Poems, vol. i. p. xxvi.

[3] Letter to Nils Larsoen, p. 251. [4] Geijer, vol. ii. p. 139.

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